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Key Developments

FBIS Duma Election Report 7 Dec (#18)

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[FBIS Media Note]

Recent Developments

Pollster Says CPRF Will Finish First Regardless of Turnout Level Leonid Sedov, deputy director of the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion (VTsIOM), asserted on 6 December that the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) will finish first among parties "regardless of whether voter activity is low or high." According to Sedov, with a 45 percent turnout, the CPRF "will get first place," Yabloko "second place," followed by NDR, the Congress of Russian Communities (KRO), the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), the Party of Workers' Self-Government, Women of Russia, and the APR. If voter turnout is "high—56 percent or more"—the CPRF will still come in first, followed by Women of Russia, Yabloko, and NDR. Although he noted that polls indicate that "the majority of voters" will decide who to vote for on the last day," Sedov nevertheless predicted that the CPRF "will get 35 percent of seats in the State Duma, Yabloko 17 percent, Women of Russia 16 percent, and Russia Is Our Home 15 percent" (INTERFAX, 6 December).

He claimed that his prediction that Women of Russia would finish second if there is a high turnout can be explained by the "domination of female voters in [electoral] constituencies." Moreover, in a 7 December IZVESTIYA article, Sedov wrote that VTsIOM polls during November showed that an increasing number of women are indicating they will turn out to vote in December. He said that at the end of November, 61 percent of women who were polled (sample size not given) indicated that they were "determined" to take part in the elections, while in early November only 52 percent of potential women voters indicated that they would be voting. "Further analysis shows," he added, that there has been an "awakening" among women voters, primarily "aged 40-54 living in large cities or rural areas." He also said that the "increase in electoral activeness" among women is "particularly noticeable in the Urals and the Volga Region."

Communists Plan "Alternative" Vote Count SEGODNYA (6 December) reported that members of the CPRF's Duma faction announced that they plan to organize their own "parallel vote count" on 17 December in the country's most populous regions. The "alternative" count will be done by CPRF "observers" and party activists who are members of electoral commissions, and CPRF oblast committees will relay "subtotals" to Moscow. According to SEGODNYA, the CPRF is "the only party that has the ability to organize an alternative vote count" because it has many more members in its "primary organizations" in the regions than any other party. The paper also noted that as a result of the party's successes in several local and regional elections, CPRF supporters took "good positions in regional electoral commissions."

NDR's Ryzhkov Outlines Bloc's Regional Focus Vladimir Ryzhkov, the number 12 candidate on NDR's federal list who oversees many of the bloc's regional branches, told RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA (5 December) that NDR is "gambling on the regions" where the bloc is fielding more than 100 single-seat candidates. He asserted that those parties and blocs that "have support locally, those who have candidates out in the sticks and who work with voters there, in the Russian provinces, will win." According to Ryzhkov, only 4 parties and blocs—"the Communists, the Agrarians, the LDPR, and NDR"—have a "real regional network."

He also said that the bloc has a "serious problem" because "some people" who "perceive a career interest" in NDR have tried to "attach" themselves to the "party of power"—a tag the bloc has worn since it was formed last spring—in hopes of getting or retaining government jobs or largesse. Ryzhkov said "the necessary measures to purge NDR of such people will be taken after the elections."

Rybkin Slams the Agrarian Party Again Duma Chairman and electoral bloc leader Ivan Rybkin took another swipe at the Agrarian Party of Russia (APR), whose ticket he ran on in 1993, asserting that the party is "very much under the influence" of Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin's NDR bloc and that many of its supporters have already abandoned ship (PRAVDA, 5 December).

Rybkin glossed over his failure to form a coalition with his former party mates. He claimed he found it "unacceptable" that 9 of the 12 leaders on the APR's core federal list "are age 62 or over. My opinion was that it is necessary to combine wisdom and youth, experience and energy in equal proportions. But my objections were overruled."

Rybkin also told PRAVDA that he would accept a spot in a new post-elections government if it is "formed on the basis of the principles of a left-center program," which he said includes "a diversity of forms of ownership, the state regulation of the economy, and the priority of the working man and his intellect and his talents."

Party Drops Out Ekho Moskvy reported on 6 December that the Landmark Generation bloc (also known as "Watershed Generation" or "Generation X") has dropped out of the race. Bloc cochairman Sergey Bobin reportedly said that the bloc lacked a "real chance" because the results "have already been predetermined."

In the Provinces

CPRF, APR at Odds in Stavropol Kray According to SELSKAYA ZhIZN (7 December), the CPRF and the APR failed to field common candidates in three of Stavropol Kray's four districts. The agriculture-oriented paper reported that the APR dropped its candidate in one of the kray's four district races in favor of a CPRF candidate, but APR candidates in the kray's other three districts "are facing opposition not only from ideological opponents of all shades and hues but also from their Communist allies." Taking issue with local CPRF candidates' criticism of the APR, the paper claimed that "when it suits them they criticize the Agrarians, but when necessary they take advantage of the undoubted prestige of the Agrarians leaders. Where is the logic in that?"

CPRF, KRO Lead the Pack in Krasnodar Kray Poll SEVERNYY KaVKAZ (2 December) reported that a recent poll of more than 1,200 residents in 8 of the kray's cities conducted by the Krasnodar branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences' Sociology Institute indicated that the CPRF and the KRO may fare well in this southern territory. With "only" 24.5 percent of respondents indicating that they will not vote, approximately 14 percent of the respondents said they will vote for the CPRF, 10 percent for KRO, and 7 percent each for Yabloko, NDR, and LDPR (the paper did not give a breakdown for the remaining 55 percent). The paper reported that the KRO "enjoys the most support among voters aged 26-45," while voters over 46 years of age are the CPRF's main base of support.

Shakhray Claims Perm Oblast Governor Blocked His TV Appearance According to a 6 December TRUD report, Party of Russian Unity and Accord (PRES) leader Sergey Shakhray claimed that during a campaign stop in Perm last week, oblast head of administration Boris Kuznetsov "banned" him from appearing live on regional television. Shakhray asserted that "quite recently" Kuznetsov allowed a live television appearance by CPRF leader Zyuganov. According to Shakhray, Kuznetsov's move "was a one-man show and no one has the right to rule the air waves. This kind of blocking tactic is familiar to us from Moscow and clearly it has arrived here, too." Kuznetsov is an active NDR supporter running on the bloc's regional list (see FBIS Duma Election Report 5 Dec #16); Shakhray yanked his party out of NDR during the summer.

Luzhkov Rejects Free TV Time for Candidates IZVESTIYA (6 December) reported that Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov "flatly rejected" attempts by several Moscow City Council deputies who are running for State Duma seats to gain free air time on the city-owned cable television station. According to IZVESTIYA, Luzhkov "proposed" at a 5 December city government session that "all those wanting to speak on the city's cable television station before the elections draw lots and pay for their air time in accordance with prescribed procedure."

Two Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebeds on Moscow Ballot MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS (2 December) published a sample of the ballot that will be used in the City of Moscow listing all parties that will be on the ballot, the top three leaders on each party's federal list, and the top three candidates on each party's Moscow regional list. Interestingly, the KRO's number 2 candidate, Lt. Gen. Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebed, has the same name as the number 1 candidate on the Moscow regional list for the Bloc in Defense of Pensioners and Veterans (also known as "Dzhuna Davitashvili's Bloc"). Although the candidates will be identified by party, some voters in Moscow may confuse the latter Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebed, who is 49-years-old and unemployed, with his more famous 45-year-old namesake.

The Media Beat

Polling Guru Grushin Becoming Fixture on "Vremya" Vox Populi polling service leader Boris Grushin's recent spate of appearances on Public Russian Television's (ORT) "Vremya" evening news program—the country's most widely-watched—suggests that he will serve as the channel's chief prognosticator—and subtle NDR promoter. Grushin has repeatedly lobbied potential voters to turn out en masse—which would probably benefit NDR and other reform-oriented parties the bloc would likely seek to ally with in the new Duma—and urged them not to waste their votes on parties that he views as unlikely to surmount the 5 percent barrier.

On the 4 December "Vremya," Grushin said that during the last two weeks of the campaign he will focus "not so much as to who will win the elections, and how," as on "who will...vote...and how." While noting that "our latest survey [sample size not indicated] shows that 11 percent of respondents "think that it is not worth going to the elections," he said "what really matters is those who are still hesitating"—38 percent of potential voters. Grushin said that his service's findings indicate that 51 percent of respondents said they will "definitely" go to the polls and "many other agencies" are reporting that 55 percent of those they have polled indicated they are "prepared" to vote.

During his 5 December appearance on "Vremya," Grushin appealed for "greater voter awareness" of the competing parties and blocs and urged his audience "not to wait until the 11th hour" to decide who to vote for as, he said, 45 percent of voters did in 1993. He said that when his organization recently we asked voters to name the leaders of certain parties, movements, and associations, large numbers of people were able to correctly match only a few party leaders with their respective parties. He then held up a chart showing the percentage of respondents who correctly identified the party affiliations of the following ten party leaders:

- Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (LDPR)—75%
- Gennadiy Zyuganov (CPRF)—65%
- Grigoriy Yavlinskiy (Yabloko)—64%
- Viktor Chernomyrdin (NDR)—61%
- Yegor Gaydar (Russia's Democratic Choice)—47%
- Yekaterina Lakhova (Women of Russia)—36%
- Mikhail Lapshin (APR)—28%
- Boris Fedorov (Forward, Russia!)—23%
- Yuriy Skokov (KRO)—13%
- Mikhail Shmakov (Union of Labor)—4%

Taking an even more activist approach on the 6 December "Vremya," Grushin asserted that "any votes cast for parties unlikely to overcome the 5 percent barrier" would be "wasted." Grushin then held up a list of 11 parties and blocs—in alphabetical order—that he claimed have "a good chance" of overcoming the barrier and urged voters to choose one of the following: APR; Forward, Russia!; Ivan Rybkin's Bloc; Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats; Women of Russia; CPRF; KRO; LDPR; NDR; Party of Workers' Self-Government; and Yabloko.

Chernomyrdin Answers Voters' Questions by Phone

MM0712123195 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 95 pp 1-2

[Account of readers' "Direct Line" phone-in with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, conducted by Olga Gerasimenko, Aleksandr Gamov, Igor Yemelyanov, Viktor Sokirko, Aleksandr Khokhlov, and Igor Chernyak at KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's offices; date not given: "The Whole of Russia Called Viktor Stepanovich. The Dialogue Lasted Two Full Hours" — first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] [The text is accompanied by two large photos: The photo on page 1, captioned "We gave the prime minister a T-shirt of ours with room to grow into," shows a beaming Chernomyrdin holding up a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA T-shirt; the photo on page 2 is captioned "The premier among his family. While Viktor Stepanovich was talking with KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA readers, his nearest and dearest were a little anxious. They need not have been: It all went very well!" and shows a smiling Chernomyrdin and his wife seated side by side, each cradling a small girl, with an (illegible) handwritten dedication scrawled across the photo.]

We never thought a "Direct Line" phone-in with the head of government would involve so much fuss. Our guest was accompanied on his visit to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA by a couple of dozen security guards, two sniffer dogs (a big one and a small one), and an armada of our journalist colleagues. But seriously, the conversation turned out to be incisive, cordial, and frank. Thank you, Viktor Stepanovich, and thank you, readers!

"Why Did Your Niece Buy Three Plants?"

[Caller] Hello, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA! Can I speak to the prime minister?

[Chernomyrdin] Chernomyrdin here.

[Caller] Viktor Stepanovich, don't take offense, but I have an unpleasant question for you.

[Chernomyrdin] Well, let's have your unpleasant question. Who am I talking to?

[Caller] Usova, from the village of Pavlovskaya, Krasnodar Kray. They say in the newspapers that you have acquired a large block of shares in "Gazprom," and that's why our gas is so expensive.

[Chernomyrdin] I find it hard to talk about this topic at all. I have no shares! As a state official, particularly one who works in the government, I am not entitled to have any.

[Caller] So why do they make false accusations against you?

[Chernomyrdin] These rumors are most likely connected with election matters. I didn't expect my opponents to balk even at "sensational" stories like that.

[Caller] OK, fine. So this is what I'll tell my girls: I personally talked with Viktor Stepanovich himself, and it's all lies about the shares. Come and see us in Pavlovskaya some time, we'd be delighted.

[Chernomyrdin] Thank you. Best wishes to your fellow villagers.

[New caller] Hello, this is Anna here, from Moscow. Is it true that your niece has bought three plants — "Orgsteklo," "Kaprolaktan," and "Korund," in the city of Dzerzhinsk in Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast? My mom lives there, she just called me. She says the city's in a panic because all the plants have been closed. And Chernomyrdin's niece said: "Your children are a matter of absolute indifference to me, do what you like with them!" Hello, can you hear me?

[Chernomyrdin] My dear Anna, tell your mom: One of my nieces is still very young, she's a student. The other lives in Moscow and works as an engineer. Neither my children nor my nieces have anything to do with those organizations. It's all electoral speculation.

[Caller] Thank you very much. We were going to vote for you, but then we heard that report...

[New Caller] Do you have a personal plane? It's Kirill Feoktistov asking, I'm calling from Chita.

[Chernomyrdin] No, Kirill, I don't have a personal plane, or a ship for that matter.... There is a state airliner.

"What Did You Do With Our Gold Reserve?"

[Caller] This is Shenin, from Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast. I'm sitting here and thinking: How come Viktor Stepanovich, at the end of his third year as premier, has suddenly started talking about the stabilization of our economy? Is it because the elections are imminent?

[Chernomyrdin] We still have a long way to go to reach full-scale stabilization. Although this year can be considered a beginning, believe me. For the first time in three or four years the volume of production has not fallen overall, and has even begun to rise a little. The real incomes of enterprises and of citizens are increasing. And stabilization in industry is taking place in the context of a slowing down of price rises....

Yet the government's opponents predicted all kinds of things — that the dollar would be worth 8,000-10,000 rubles [R] in the fall, that inflation would reach double figures.... But no, stabilization is not just empty words. The main confirmation of this is that life is no worse for us now than yesterday. When everyone can sense an improvement, that won't be what we call stabilization. That will be a sign of economic growth, which is what we are striving for. But we aren't there yet, there is still work to be done!

[Caller] Forgive me for interrupting.... I personally very much doubt that the economy is recovering. Take the Pavlovo Bus Plant. Some 500 buses are stockpiled here now. Nobody wants them. Why not?

[Chernomyrdin] Probably because your output is not suitable for the consumer. How much does a bus cost?

[Caller] Something like 80 million, maybe even 110 million...

[Chernomyrdin] There, you see. You have to reduce the prime cost and improve the quality. Otherwise new buses really will just rot in the yard. In that case, why produce them?

In any case, universal prosperity can't be achieved in 500 days, or even 550. As for readjusting economic and financial levers, starting up market mechanisms to ensure an upswing and stable development of industry — these tasks, I can inform you, have already been fulfilled to a significant extent by our government. Now it's up to you to support us, out there in the provinces. Good luck to you!

[New caller] Yuriy and Aleksandr Smetanin here, from Samara. They say you're selling the gold reserve now, so as to pay off the pensioners on the eve of the elections. You could do the same with the whole of Russia — auction it off....

[Chernomyrdin] You have incorrect information, my friends. Only part of the revenue from the sale of gold and foreign currency reserves went into pensions. We took the rest out of the budget. As for the gold and currency reserve, in the whole history of the Union and of Russia it has never been like it is today. Incidentally, it was silver, not gold, that we sold to meet the pensioners' needs. And we didn't sell it to just anyone, we sold it to our own Central Bank. Which means it didn't leave the country. How could we permit ourselves to do a thing like that?

[New caller] Viktor Stepanovich, this is Yuriy Nikolayevich Kartsev from Chelyabinsk Oblast. Tell me, why are you up in arms against inflation? After all, it has its positive features, too....

[Chernomyrdin] I have to disappoint you. Given the high rates of price increases that we have, inflation is an absolute evil. Because investments are not advantageous and production growth is not advantageous. The upswing will only begin when prices increase by less than 2 percent a month. Achieving that is our main task today. That is why we are fighting for the budget and pursuing a tough financial policy. To make it quite clear: A 1-percent reduction in inflation provides the opportunity to rescue 700,000 people from below the poverty line. Furthermore, a fall in inflation reduces the gap between the high-paid and the low-paid. If anyone thinks we are going to leave that capricious lady in peace, they are making a bad mistake.

[New caller] This is Anna Ilinichna from Tomsk. Why does this happen: Our producers can't sell their output, meat, for instance, yet it keeps being brought in from abroad.

[Chernomyrdin] That applies mainly to the big cities — Moscow, St. Petersburg. Their leaders buy imported meat which is often cheaper than our own. But I think it's a question of time. Of course, our own producers should be supported first and foremost, and that's what we are doing now.

[New caller] Olga Vasilyevna Timofeyeva calling, from Voronezh. Does the government intend to settle up with holders of special-purpose interest-free loan bonds?

[Chernomyrdin] Definitely. They will get cars, televisions, refrigerators. We won't be able to settle up fully with everyone in 1996. But a start has been made. Provision is made in the budget for this item.

[New caller] Allow me to introduce myself: Konstantin Yegorovich, from Chelyabinsk. I can't really understand our government. It registers all kinds of companies like "MMM," "Khoper," and "Russkaya Nedvizhimost," but then it doesn't investigate the results of their dubious activity. The crooks have swindled half Russia, yet the government says nothing!

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, this is a serious problem. Although we have warned repeatedly: Don't trust all these MMM's. But now.... You know, the president recently signed an edict on compensation for losses for investors deceived by "pyramid organizations." Unfortunately, there were more than 20 million victims.

[Caller] You ought to be a bit more careful! Do you understand the point? The people think you are in league with these crooks. And when the government does have good intentions, nobody trusts it....

"Why We Are Unhappy With This Government"

[New caller] Hello, my name is Valentina Nikolayevna Zlobina-Legoshina. There are five people in our family, and all of them are invalids and pensioners. We used to get concessions because of my father, he was killed at Stalingrad. But now only my mother still gets them. We pay huge sums for the apartment. How are we to live?

[Chernomyrdin] Valentina Nikolayevna, in principle these things are regulated by the local authorities. But I will look into it. The social department will call you and inform you of the measures adopted.

[Caller] I wanted to ask something else, too. We worked all our lives and put every kopeck in our savings book. And we lost everything. What will happen about our savings?

[Chernomyrdin] Valentina Nikolayevna, today for the first time since 1993 there is a real possibility of tackling this problem. Not promising the impossible, but really helping. We will begin paying compensation in 1996, to elderly people first of all.

[Caller] Make it quick, Viktor Stepanovich. We're all old already. May God help you in your work....

[New caller] This is Lyudmila Ivanovna Maslennikova. I want to tell you why we are unhappy with this government. I worked for 40 years, five years during the war at a military enterprise, the rest of the time in the coal industry and then at the ministry. I get a pension of 250,000. I have to pay 80,000 for the apartment, electricity, and the telephone. I spend 25,000 on medicines. There was a presidential edict on a 50-percent discount on municipal services, but it's not being fulfilled. The money I have left is only enough for bread and water. Don't I deserve more than that, after 40 years?

[Chernomyrdin] Believe me, Lyudmila Ivanovna, we understand your distress. And we are doing everything to make your life easier. Whereas formerly pensions were indexed every quarter, this year we have increased them five times. In December the minimum will be R60,500. Including compensation, 110,000. The average pension will reach R240,000 in December. As budget revenue increases, pensions will be further indexed. I understand that it is difficult for lone pensioners now, the average pension is only 30,000 above the subsistence minimum.

[New caller] Pensioner Lyudmila Petrovna Sokolova calling. A year ago the State Duma adopted the Law on Veterans, but I think it's been forgotten about completely....

[Chernomyrdin] Lyudmila Petrovna, the law hasn't been forgotten. The government attaches great significance to it, since it consolidates substantial concessions and establishes additional ones. But the problem is that the law was signed in January, and the annual budget did not take account of it. The government submitted a proposal to the State Duma on the phased implementation of this law, but it did not get support. From next year all this expenditure will be incorporated in the budget, and the Law on Veterans will take effect.

[New caller] Viktor Stepanovich, is it true that after the State Duma elections you intend to sign a decree under which working pensioners will receive only their wages?

[Chernomyrdin] These rumors are absolutely untrue. First, questions of pension provision are regulated only by federal laws. Second, I think it would be ridiculous in present conditions to stop paying pensions to working pensioners. The government did not and does not have any such plans.

"Why Are Our Children Dying?"

[New caller] I thank you, of course, my dear Prime Minister, for your courage and wisdom during the Budennovsk events. This is Anna Mikhaylovna Dutikova talking to you, from Stavropol Kray. But why did our rulers not display all these qualities when they were tackling the Chechen problem at the beginning? Tell me: What was stopping you?

[Chernomyrdin] Esteemed Anna Mikhaylovna, that question is a very painful one for us. Let's take a look: The Chechen crisis did not break out a year ago, when the troops were sent into the republic. The boil was coming to a head for a long time, and since the disease was not treated, the boil burst. It's hard to argue with it: When we finally tackled the Chechen question, obviously we did not take all its complexity into account. I think there was still a possibility of a peaceful settlement of the conflict even a year ago, but we did not take advantage of it. But what happened, happened, you can't turn back the clock.

Believe me, we are doing everything to bring peace to the Chechen land. But as you can see, not everybody there wants that. Was General Romanov trying to impose war on the Chechens? He called for disarmament and a peaceful settlement. And what did they do to him?

[New caller] I'm a soldier's mother calling from Serpukhovo. Answer us: Why do our children have to die today? My son served in Chechnya, and they're going to send him back there soon. Recently I saw with my own eyes two coffins being brought back from there.... If it was the Patriotic War, I myself would say to my child: Go! But here it's just impossible to understand at all!

[Chernomyrdin] It's not the people who unleash war, it's politicians. That's the whole trouble. And what has happened in Chechnya is adventurism. And a lack of professionalism — on the part of the military and the special services. But we can't allow Russia to be torn to shreds! That's where the tragedy is.... Everything must be done to bring peace to the Chechen land as soon as possible. There will be elections there soon. Let's hope that they will improve the situation in the republic.

[New caller] Viktor Stepanovich, we are representatives of the Chechen diaspora, calling from Almaty — Veche Dokayevich Magomadov and Zodi Abadovich Metskhanov. Thank you for your unswervingly pro-peace stance on Chechnya. But when will you withdraw the troops?

[Chernomyrdin] As soon as the situation in Chechnya is normalized. We will reduce the numbers of military immediately. They will stay in the garrisons. Do you think anyone in the Russian leadership wants Chechnya to be packed full of troops? No way!

[Caller] Viktor Stepanovich, may God grant that it all works out for you.

[Chernomyrdin] Thank you for your support and understanding. I value your call particularly.

"Viktor Stepanovich, I Want To Fly!"

[New caller] Good day, I'm a drivers' team leader, Panfilov. They promised to allocate 15 "KrAZ" trucks to our firm, "Tonnelstroy," via "Gazprom," by way of mutual settlements. But they're not keeping their word, and things are at a standstill. Can you help? Then we would vote for no one but you — there are 25 of us drivers.

[Chernomyrdin] Vote as you think best, that's not the point. Is your organization connected with the Ministry of Transport Construction? Fine, I'll call the minister and instruct him to look into it.

[New caller] This is Stanislav Afanasyevich Kozlov. I realize, of course, that the prime minister has the whole country to worry about, but I have to change my apartment in Moscow: Orekhovo-Borisovo, Timiryazevskiy Rayon, a new apartment block is being handed over there now, at No. 42 Yablochkova. They're giving me an apartment, but it's on the 20th floor. Can you imagine how I'm going to get up there, with no legs?

[Chernomyrdin] But surely there's an elevator!

[Caller] But what if it breaks down? Help me, Viktor Stepanovich, it won't cost you anything.

[Chernomyrdin] Stanislav Afanasyevich, I'm not promising you anything. But leave your address. I'll do what I can.

[Caller] I'm counting on you!

[New caller] This is Aleksandr Valeryanovich Dubkinskiy, I'm calling from Irkutsk. I graduated from the Civil Aviation Academy, they promised me a job as a Tu-134 pilot, but instead they're offering me a post as a businessman. I've been without work for five months. And

I've got a diploma with distinction! Please help me, I want to fly!

[Chernomyrdin] Leave your details. I give you my word as premier: Provided there are no health restrictions, you'll fly!

[New caller] Stanislav Viktorovich calling, I work in the defense industry. At a conference once, you tried very ardently to convince the plant directors that we don't need howitzers. But every great power has a missile shield. Weren't we in too much of a hurry to reveal the secrets and mysteries of our missile complex?

[Chernomyrdin] Of course a missile shield is needed. That's why the Design Bureau has been given the status of State Missile Center, and it is continuing to work in its main field, that is, fulfilling the state defense order. No secrets have been revealed, only certain specifications were reported which are controlled by the START I and START II Treaties that were concluded.

"Just Don't Make Up Rhymes!"

[New caller] Viktor Stepanovich, this is Zoya Nikolayevna Ponomarenko, Serafimovichskiy Rayon, Volgograd Oblast. When will the law on land finally be adopted? We decided to set up our own private peasant farm, but we've hit a brick wall.

[Chernomyrdin] It is mainly the leaders of agrarian enterprises and the Agrarian Party who are protesting against transferring land to private ownership now. My own conviction is that the land should belong to the people who live and work on it.

[Caller] You can imagine how the people are longing for that!

[Chernomyrdin] I can imagine. And I think the people have been deceived enough. I promise: We will do everything to resolve this question as soon as possible.

[Caller] You do that! And tell me, too: Can a foreign bank finance a private farmer who is just setting out?

[Chernomyrdin] It can. But such cases are extremely rare. As a rule, foreign banks want guarantees. And there can be no guarantees here, since the land doesn't belong to anyone. Until we settle the land question, even our own banks, to say nothing of foreign ones, are not going to give the peasants money. That's the snag. Do you have the Agrarian Party where you are?

[Caller] Yes, of course.

[Chernomyrdin] Well then, explain the whole truth to their leaders!

[Caller] Viktor Stepanovich, it's useless. They say: "Don't come here, don't bother us...." You must tackle it in Moscow, and if you help with the land, we'll support you. What party do you belong to yourself?

[Chernomyrdin] "Russia Is Our Home."

[Caller] Yes, Russia is our home, that's true. In that case, we're with you. Good luck in the elections!

[New caller] Good day, my name is Vyacheslav Vladimirovich. I look at our candidates for the new Duma and, frankly, I'm horrified. They are not conducting an election campaign, they are slinging shit, if you'll excuse the rude word, at each other. They've been making up rhymes about each other.... "Russia Is Our Home" is behaving very properly, and that's why I sympathize with your movement. My advice to you is: Don't take any notice of all the attacks. And don't make up rhymes. Work calmly, be close to people and their needs. And the voters will support you.

[Chernomyrdin] Thanks for the good advice, Vyacheslav Vladimirovich. We won't make up any rhymes.

In fact, I'm more used to getting on with the job, rather than shouting myself hoarse. A lot of rubbish is being talked about our movement today, and all kinds of fables about me are being put about. My principle is this: Don't reply to rubbish of any kind. Let it remain on the conscience of those who have only learned one thing in life: how to sling mud.

[New caller] Greetings. My name is Georgiy Fomich, I'm a Muscovite. I'm keen for your bloc to get into the Duma. Only I would like to know a bit more about the candidates: what income they have, what property, where they live, where their children and grandchildren go to school. Believe me: The people will value that.

[Chernomyrdin] Thanks for the advice, Georgiy Fomich. We aren't really hiding anything, but if there's not enough information, we'll try to put that right.

[New caller] Viktor Stepanovich, this is Vitaliy Konstantinovich Fedorov from Bryansk Oblast. Our enterprise, "Bryanskspirtprom," is a collective member of "NDR" ["Russia Is Our Home"]. And you know, for that reason we are being stigmatized. They're plaguing us with checks: the tax police, the control and auditing administration, and so on, and so forth.

[Chernomyrdin] And how is work going?

[Caller] Fine, that's the point. The quality of the output is high, we send it abroad. People cling to these authorities because they give us the opportunity to do good work. We have already sent a letter to the president of Russia and to you, signed by 650 people....

[Chernomyrdin] Unfortunately, not everything reaches me. But I will certainly look out your letter and take steps. You see, Vitaliy Konstantinovich, people say the "NDR" is the party of power.... But if you look into it, there are far fewer officials on our federal list than with the APR [Agrarian Party of Russia], the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation], or even "Russia's Choice." And look how they obstruct us in the provinces. No, we're not the party of power. We only want to become so. Because we are realists, because we have traveled the path of serious transformations and we know how the reforms must be continued so that Russia avoids any great upheavals. Explain that to people. And stand firm!

[Caller] Thank you, Viktor Stepanovich. You stand firm, too.

[New caller] Tatarstan calling, Irik Davletshin. You know, I have a very keen political sense and I'm almost never wrong. Viktor Stepanovich, you should put forward your candidacy for the Russian presidential elections, you'll certainly get in.

[Chernomyrdin] Thanks, Irik. At the moment we have to support Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. He can still do a great deal for Russia.

"Do Models Raise Your Blood Pressure?"

[New caller] Good day, esteemed Prime Minister, this is Vyacheslav from Moscow. Did you know that Claudia Schiffer is coming here? What do you think of her, and models in general?

[Chernomyrdin] What do I think of her? She's fine, I guess. But personally I'm not interested in models, I simply don't have the time.

[Caller] But beautiful women are always stimulating.

[Chernomyrdin] That goes without saying....

[Caller] And what do you think about American movies taking over our television?

[Chernomyrdin] I don't like it, I don't like it at all. There is high art in Hollywood too, but on our screens we only get sex, vulgarity.... Fortunately, our own cinema is now finding its feet and many new movies are coming out. The difficulty is distribution. This is another problem that must be solved.

[New caller] I'm the widow of a people's artist, the singer Yuriy Gulyayev, my name is Larisa Mikhaylovna. We are publishing a musical anthology devoted to the memory of Yuriy Aleksandrovich. Six CD's have already come out, with Russian and Ukrainian folk songs, old romances, and arias from operas. We would like to send them to you, if you have no objection.

[Chernomyrdin] I'd be delighted with such a gift! And I'll certainly listen to them. I love Yuriy Gulyayev. His songs are heartwarming. Many thanks, Larisa Mikhaylovna, for what you're doing!

[New caller] Hello, Viktor Stepanovich! This is Sergey from Yaroslavl. The other day you were seen at a tennis match. Were you there just as a VIP guest? Or are you interested in that sport?

[Chernomyrdin] Sergey, I'm a normal person, just like you. Sometimes I like to relax too. Do you understand me?

"He's Premier, But He Doesn't Cross Himself..."

[New caller] Viktor Stepanovich, this is Lyudmila Ivanovna calling, from St. Petersburg. You and Boris Nikolayevich and the other leaders sometimes go to church. Couldn't you cross yourself sometimes, if only for the cameras? Just imagine what authority you would gain among people who believe in God!

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, I am happy to go to church. But crossing yourself is a personal matter for every individual. Yuriy Mikhaylovich Luzhkov, for instance, crosses himself, but I don't....

[Caller] You certainly ought to cross yourself too, Viktor Stepanovich!

Luzhkov Denies Free TV to Moscow Candidates

MM0612144195 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Viktor Belikov: "No Freebies for Candidates in Moscow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The attempt by some Moscow City Duma deputies, among them candidates in the 17 December State Duma elections, to win the right to free use of the Moscow Cable Television state company's air time for their election campaign was flatly rejected by Moscow Mayor Yu. Luzhkov, our correspondent Viktor Belikov reported.

At a Moscow Government session 5 December the mayor proposed that all those wanting to speak on the city's cable television station ahead of the elections draw lots and then pay for their airtime in accordance with prescribed procedure. City budget money allocated for cable television, the mayor explained, is spent solely on developing the company's material and technical base. Money received from electoral blocs and individual candidates will be spent for the same purpose.

Reportage on 'Elections '95' Campaign Coverage

Lapshin: Agrarians Back 'Mixed Economy'

LD0512213195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1605 GMT on 5 December carries an "Elections '95" program hosted by Pavel Kasparov featuring Mikhail Lapashin, leader of the Agrarian Party of Russia electoral association, in the studio, reading from a prepared script. The program lasts 7 minutes.

Lapashin says: "Good evening, esteemed viewers. During my work in the State Duma I have had occasion to visit literally every corner of our Russia and not just to make show visits. I have seen the blood of Chechnya where I have been several times. I have seen the tears of the refugees in the tent townships. I have seen hungry children begging for crusts of bread outside the bakeries. There are too many troubles; the collapse is too great. And one cannot sit idly by waiting for everything to right itself.

The agrarian grouping in the State Duma is ending its work, but there is no feeling of satisfaction. Yes, we have managed to prevent the total collapse of production. Yes, we have managed to pass a number of laws aimed at strengthening the agro-industrial complex and at providing social support of the population, particularly the veterans. But these are only the first steps and so we are once again entering the elections."

Lapshin names the association's members and supporters, and continues:

"We proceed on the basis that the stable, dynamic development of the agrarian sector is the deciding factor in reviving Russia's economy. There is no developed country in the world where wealth and prosperity have been built on the misfortunes of the peasantry. But for several centuries we built up Russia and the Russian state at the expense of the countryside, by the forced labor of the rural dweller.

In a normal economy each rural worker not only feeds the town-dweller but also provides 10-11 jobs in industry. In Russia the countryside is the main consumer, the main job-creator. ZiL, Rosselmash, and other industrial giants are standing idle because the countryside is penniless. If the rural areas are revived they will, like a powerful locomotive, haul along behind them the other industries: engineering, chemicals, and the processing industries."

Lapshin complains about current low prices for agricultural products and high prices for fuel and industrial goods.

Speaking of the organization of agriculture, Lapshin said: "The Agrarian Party is in favor of a mixed economy. We support large-scale collective agrarian production, private farmers, and personal household plots. We should not divide up but rather unite our efforts."

Lapshin complains about the large-scale imports of often poor-quality foodstuffs while Russian peasants cannot find a market for their products. He notes the emotional and historical significance of the countryside for Russia; it should be nurtured accordingly. He goes on:

"Bread and politics — and we know this from our history — have always been close to each other. At present the government is considering the option of doubling the price of a loaf of bread by the New Year. The peasants are not to blame for this. For, the price which the state pays the peasants for bread has remained the same. Whose pocket is the difference going into? We, agrarian deputies, will without fail find out the answer to this question, and we shall ensure that there is bread in the shops, and at a reasonable price.

We believe that the peasant should be the real master on the land. The Agrarian Party favors sensible land reform, the essence of which is to give the land to those who work it. At the same time we are opposed to the idea that land, Russian arable land, should be something to be bought and sold. We are also categorically opposed to selling land to foreigners.

We believe that every citizen of Russia should be able to obtain ownership of a piece of land for a garden, a kitchen garden, to build a house, a dacha, or a garage and that the rural dweller should be able to own a household plot. And tens of millions of families in Russia have become owners of such plots of land with the right to dispose of these plots as they see fit.

We warn the town-dwellers: Do not allow the free buying and selling of urban land or it may turn out that the land under your house will be sold.

You may complain about life as much as you like and lambaste the authorities, but the time has come to really take fate in your hands and I call upon you, dear fellow countrymen, to vote on 17 December for the Agrarian Party of Russia, for our peasant bloc, for those who are really capable of ensuring peace and bread in every home."

The slot ends with a filmed advertisement for the electoral association, showing idealized scenes of rural life.

KRO Broadcast Extolls Skokov

LD0612201495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1605 GMT on 6 December carries the "Elections '95" program and a seven-minute pre-recorded election broadcast by the Congress of Russian Communities [KRO]. It features a series of clips about Yuriy Skokov, its leader. The voice-over extolls Skokov's various virtues as a statesman and politician and gives details of his career to date. Skokov is shown warning about the looming conflicts in September 1993, but his warnings were ignored and the bloody dispersal of the parliament in Moscow and the Chechen war followed. A clip of Chernomyrdin is also shown, in which he says all officials would be made accountable for what they do. The voice-over agrees that officials would be made accountable, "but it is another matter who will be made accountable and when."

Skokov says: "I joined the Congress of Russian Communities through my love for the Motherland, duty toward the past, and responsibility toward the future."

Clips of a rocket follow, with the commentary that Skokov was formed by the defense industry, but was unaccustomed to being on the defensive.

Skokov says: "In order for the state to be able to defend its citizens and to help and support them through difficult times, the state itself must be strong. A strong national economy is needed for that. It is impossible to allow this strong national economy to be destroyed and to allow all its development potential to be exported to the West. Our attitude toward the current government is sharply negative, because the government has kept not one of its promises. The government has completely destroyed the national economy in the past three years. All that goes under the name of raw material resources, belonging to all people and representing the basis of the future development of the Russian economy has been squandered by the government abroad. All resources go there instead of working on the domestic market. What is taking place here is that the real situation is rigged, it is political demagogy. The current government are our enemies. At the inception of the reformist course it was announced: Let us make a new economy and people will live well as a result. Currently, 80 percent of citizens live on or below the poverty line. No one knows their real standard of life. They cannot address their grievances to anyone. Well, what we want is that the presidential constitution — and the president is the guarantor of the Constitution — should enshrine people's demands. The first point, concerning the standard of life, prosperity, longevity, should become the goal of our state policy and a yardstick by which the government's and the president's responsibility can be measured. If this happens, then any programs or promises will have to start with the same thing: Here is the genuine picture as regards the current standard of life, here is what can more or less be expected in the nearest future, through specific measures being taken. Then people will understand that these are not mere promises but tangible factors, yardsticks, which can be used to hold any official or state figure accountable."

Skokov concludes by saying that voters should be vigilant and should not be indifferent to their future. They should make their choice uninfluenced by liars and populists but proceeding from their interests. The main task of his movement was to "make authorities accountable." Another main task was to "resolve the problem of the survival of the Russian people and of preserving Russia as a single entity state," Skokov says. "If you are not against Russians, let us unite and if you are for a union of peoples, let us be together," he says.

Afghan Veterans on 'For the Motherland'

LD0712211295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1605 GMT on 7 December carries in its "Elections '95" program a report over recorded video of the main participants of the "For the Motherland" party followed by interviews with veterans of the war in Afghanistan. The broadcast begins with a brief run down, accompanied by photographs, of the bloc's main participants: Vladimir Polevanov, former Russian deputy prime minister; Yevgeniy Podkolzin, commander of the Russian airborne assault troops; Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet; Sergey Makarov, chairman of the board of the Ryazan regional branch of the Russian Union of Afghanistan Veterans.

The recorded video features Sergey Makarov and other Afghan veterans, who complain that those who have fought for their country have been forgotten and left to live in abysmal conditions. A report over video of invalids and their families gives details of the assistance rendered to veterans by various branches of the veterans' union. The party's slogan is "Help those who cannot help themselves." Voters are called upon to vote for people who have fought and realize the value of life, who know how to put an end to wars. The video ends with footage of soldiers in a war-torn country.

Lysenko Denounces Basayev, Dudayev

LD0612141895 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0400 GMT 6 Dec 95

[Speech by Nikolay Nikolayevich Lysenko, leader of the National Republican Party of Russia, in the studio; from the "Elections '95" Program — live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hello, dear compatriots. An incident occurred yesterday which was unprecedented in our criminal and political history. A Caucasian terrorist seized children in Vladivostok [as heard] yesterday and after committing a moral outrage against them, blew up a grenade. You must understand what happened. A colossal crime against human nature and against our society occurred. It was not only these children who were blown up, our belief in the fact that children are sacred was blown up with them, that children are untouchable, must always be protected, must never be the victims of any dispute whether it be political, criminal, or emotional, they must never be the victims of any dispute.

Unfortunately not a single political party focussed their attention on this. I watched closely the programs put out by the Russia TV channel and the first television channel last night and not a single party had anything to say about this dreadful crime. Senseless arguments with each other, discussions which everyone is already sick of, the platforms, statements of consensus which everyone is already sick of, various opinions which most people will immediately forget. And no one said anything about how low we have fallen, what we have become, or the direction in which we are being pushed. Surely, it is unprecedented in the history of Russia for a person, whatever his nationality — after all, this was a person if that monster could be called a person — he lifted his hand to what is most sacred: our children.

And at the same time, some criminals, and I have my suspicions about who could have done this, yesterday exploded a bomb in the State Duma. They blew it up in my office. It is a miracle that my aide is still alive, because he left my office just 30 seconds before the explosion. The office is in ruins. They wanted to finish me off. Not me, but specific information of Lysenko's. They wanted to put an end to the truth our party is telling you and which is being cut off on all channels.

We are being prevented from speaking, we are being stopped, we are being warned off, and finally there are attempts to blow us up. If we do not acknowledge the direction in which we are moving, if we do not acknowledge that the state begins with three unshakable principles — passports, a visa regime, and borders — if we are not able to give Russia these three postulates, these three touchstones which are the foundations of every state and are the main aim in our political program, we will never be able to defend our Russia because everyone is against us.

The authorities are cooperating with bandits — I mean the authorities in the Kremlin. Shamil Basayev, I am listening to you carefully. Shamil Basayev, I am ready to meet all your demands. Shamil Basayev, what do you want, French cognac, Congo coffee? Perhaps you should travel through Russia bearing the flag of great Chechnya so that our soldiers who are dying can get a look at you, our soldiers who have shed their blood on the streets of Groznyy. What can we do for you, Shamil Basayev? I, Viktor Stepanovich [Chernomyrdin], am ready to meet any demand you make. And at the same time Russian guys are dying, guys who are doing their best to protect the Russian flag, guys who think that Russia is something more than a cheap card in the world game of interests. That is what they are doing.

And look at our television. Look at what NTV is doing. Shamil Basayev, what do you need? Shamil Basayev, what would you like to tell the public? The public is waiting to hear you.

The public is waiting for him to be shot. That is what the public is waiting for. The Russian public, irrespective of its ethnic origin, is waiting for Shamil Basayev and Dzhokhar Dudayev to be shot after being sentenced by a court. They are great criminals who have expelled 300,000 Russians from Chechnya, who have shot hundreds of innocent people, without any investigations. And the possibility of peace in Chechnya or a referendum of some kind or other being held there is now being discussed.

That is what it leads to. That is what a lack of political will leads to. That is what political feeble-mindedness and political impotence leads to. And we, Russians, are being trained for this. We, a great people, who created this empire, who protected it, who defended it, and who were able to withstand threats from East and West. We are being trained to be slaves. We are being trained to be a market for free or cheap raw materials and a supplier of cheap labor. The world community does not need us as an equal partner. This is a lie, and you are being lied to by our authorities and by the press. The press is mercenary and criminal; it is responsible for everything that is happening.

I received this yesterday [holds up piece of paper]. It is a message from the judicial chamber. To Nikolay Lysenko, chairman of the National Republican Party. The judicial chamber has received an enquiry from the leaders of the All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company asking it to evaluate the lawfulness of several fragments from your speech concerning the ethnic issue.

That is where I speak about criminal itinerant workers from the republics of the Transcaucasus and Central Asia who are living in our country illegally, taking advantage of the good nature of our people, who are robbing and killing it, who are dishonoring our women, who have taken 300 billion rubles out of our economy using forged money orders, money which we, our citizens, our old people and veterans, our children need so much. When I speak about this, I am supposed to touch on the ethnic issue.

I do not touch on the ethnic issue. I say quite clearly that the ethnic issue concerns Dzhokhar Dudayev and Shamil Basayev. I have just one minute left.

I call for you to vote for the National Republican Party. We do not need the formalities; we do not need you to nod your heads. I call on you to vote for us. We are a Russian party for the Russian people. We are prepared to fight for our national interests. We do not think there is a place for criminal itinerants in Russia. We cannot be intimidated. We cannot be stopped. And however many explosions there may be, however many they may kill, the Russian people will be victorious.

I believe in the Russian people. I believe in you, because your support is behind me, because you think as I do and I say what you think. You think that Russia should be a great state. You do not think that we should have criminal itinerants.

Regional Activities

Duma Candidate Killed in Chelyabinsk

LD0812063495 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0600 GMT 8 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Chelyabinsk, 8 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Mikhail Lezhnev, president of the company Ravis and a candidate for the State Duma, has been killed in Chelyabinsk. An investigatory team has left for the scene of the crime and circumstances of the killing are being established. Lezhnev, a leading entrepreneur, has been at the head of the region's major poultry farm for the past years.

Election Guidelines

TsIK Warns NDR, CPRF, APR of Campaign Violations

LD0712183295 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today the control group of the Central Electoral Commission [TsIK] of Russia issued warnings to the Russia Is Our Home [NDR] movement, the Communist Party of Russia [CPRF], and the Agrarian Party of Russia [APR] for deviating from the rules of the election campaign. The electoral association Forward, Russia! has been accused of a rude violation of the campaign rules.

The Central Electoral Committee has reminded that such actions may result in cancelling the registration of the electoral lists of blocs and associations.

Forecasts & Commentary

Premier: No Party To Win 'Absolute Majority'

LD0712195395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1931 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Artyom Protasenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — Not a single political party will win an absolute majority of votes at the forthcoming parliamentary elections, Viktor Chernomyrdin, Prime Minister of the Russian Federation and leader of the "Our Home is Russia" social and political movement, stated on Thursday receiving at the government headquarters Arthur Schneider, chief rabbi of New York and president of the Jewish religious organiation "Appeal of Conscience Foundation."

The prime minister noted he would not make forecasts concerning the results of the oncoming elections to the State Duma but he believed there would be no absolute winners at the December 17 elections.

According to Viktor Chernomyrdin, the "Our Home is Russia" is criticised most of all by its opponents and news media. But this is quite natural as "we are working, hence there is something for which we can be criticised, only he who does nothing does not make mistakes."

At the same time the Russian premier noted that because of his state post he could not devote much time to his work in the party. However, "we do not promise what we would not be able to fulfil."

Arthur Schneider conveyed to the Russian premier kind regards and wishes of success from U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore. He informed that while in

Moscow he had meetings with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, liberal economist and leader of the Yabloko party, Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of Russia, and representatives of "Women of Russia".

CPRF Duma Faction Details Achievements

MM0812094895 Moscow PRAVDA ROSSII in Russian 7 Dec 95 pp 1,3

[Unattributed extract "From the CPRF State Duma Faction's Report to Russia's Voters": "Protecting the Rights of the Working People"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During two years' work, the Duma faction of the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation], which consists of 47 Communist deputies, has tried to make the best use of the extremely restricted powers granted by the current Constitution to the Russian parliament. The faction has not only participated actively in legislative activity, but has also been constantly involved in analyzing how laws work and how the organs of executive power operate. Parliamentary hearings, reports from officials during the "government hour," deputies' inquiries, demands to include discussions of the most acute problems in the country's internal life and international politics on the agenda of Duma sittings, and appeals to the Russian Constitutional Court have been used to this purpose.

The Communist deputies have not concealed the fact that the country's current Constitution does not ensure even a minimum of the people's democratic rights and freedoms and only serves as a cover for presidential despotism, but even so, the smallest opportunity must not be lost in protecting the interests of the working people. Legislative work in the Duma has been extensive and varied. During the time its powers have been in force, the lower chamber of the parliament has adopted over 400 laws and has many times overcome the "veto" of the Federation Council and the president, who were striving to restrict the Duma's activeness. Of 260 draft laws, which have not only been adopted by the Duma, but have entered into force, the Communists have participated in the preparation of over 40. Taking into account those which did not get through to the end of the legislative procedure, the deputies from the CPRF faction participated in the preparation of over 250 draft laws in all. The following have been the main spheres in the legislative work of the CPRF faction and all the left-wing opposition in the State Duma:

1. Protecting the interests of the working people and their political, socioeconomic, and other rights.

2. Opposing the predatory "shock" reforms being conducted in the interests of foreign capital and the Russian "new bourgeoisie" serving it.

3. Concern for preserving Russia's integrity and recreating a renewed union of Soviet peoples.

The first group of laws adopted by the State Duma on the initiative or with the active participation of Communist deputies includes laws on the subsistence wage, on minimum remuneration of labor, pensions, and subsidies, on veterans, on social aid to invalids and elderly citizens, on returning savings to investors in the Sberbank [Bank for Labor Savings and Credit to the Population], which were plundered in January 1992 by Gaydar's government, and on state support for the mass media.

The faction has also paid a great deal of attention to problems in legislation on young people, the education of children and young people, citizens' rights to education and health protection, and travel concessions for schoolchildren and students. The Communists have taken a most active part in the preparation of laws on guarantees regarding citizens' electoral rights, on elections to the Duma, the formation of the Federation Council, referenda, and local self-government. Much effort has been made in the elaboration of laws on the fight against crime: the new Criminal and Criminal Procedural Codes, laws on the judicial system, the prosecutor's office, arbitration, the fight against organized crime, corruption, and so on.

The Communists have proved themselves to be capable not only of conducting creative state activity in the Duma, but also blocking some of the authorities' most anti-people decisions. By opposing their predatory ("shock") reforms, the members of the Communist faction initiated the adoption by the Duma of the decision on preventing a second, "post-voucher" phase of privatization. They have achieved the removal from the Civil and Land Codes of articles envisaging the buying, selling, and mortgaging of agricultural land, and voted repeatedly against attempts to enshrine in legislation the capitalization of the social and state system. On the Communists' initiative, several legislative acts aimed at the protection of the rights of opposition forces confronting the current regime have been elaborated, including laws on rallies, processions, demonstrations, and pickets, on trade unions, on political parties, and so on. Of fundamental significance in the cause of opposing the government's "shock" reforms is the Draft Law "On Urgent Measures To Overcome the Socioeconomic Crisis and Avert a National Catastrophe," which was elaborated by the Communists and submitted to the Duma. It outlines a complex of measures which can rescue the country from a policy which is turning it into a half-colonial appendage of the imperialist West.

The Communists' fight to strengthen the unity and security of the Russian state and recreate a union of Soviet peoples must be mentioned. The faction has always spoken in support of the authority of our Armed Forces and in favor of maintaining their combat readiness, has occupied a clear-cut and unequivocal stance in connection with the events in Chechnya and the Balkans, and has put forward a whole series of proposals and draft laws aimed at reinforcing the country's security and preserving historical and combat traditions.

Not uninfluenced by the work done by CPRF deputies, representatives of the power structures have recently been trying to evade responsibility for the collapse of the USSR, something which they were proud of until recently, and are trying to transfer this blame onto the Communists. Mr. Shumeyko made such claims on television a few days ago. The speaker of the upper chamber of parliament sees the Communists' "guilt" in the fact that they fought for the creation of a Communist Party embracing all the party organizations of the Russian Federation; he interpreted this as "withdrawal from the CPSU," which had consolidated the state unity of the USSR.

Mr. Shumeyko evidently counted on his audience consisting solely of television viewers who have lost their wits for good as a result of watching the "brain-deadeners," as people are calling the "soap operas" that have virtually filled up all the television channels, and who therefore cannot distinguish the truth from obvious falsehood. Mr. Shumeyko will have to be disabused: By no means all our television viewers have been so duped as to forget that the creation of the Russian Communist Party in 1990 was not interpreted by any of the Communists as any kind of "withdrawal from the CPSU." Its aim was to renew and strengthen it, and had nothing to do with the activity of the gravediggers of the USSR — who include Mr. Shumeyko himself, whose propaganda tricks will scarcely deceive anyone.

Since spring 1994, the Communist deputies have repeatedly submitted for the agenda of Duma sittings proposals to repeal the shameful Belovezhskaya Forest agreements which destroyed the USSR. They have participated actively in parliamentary hearings on this question and supported the results of the referendum held in Belarus supporting the integration of the republics into a united Union.

By and large, the Communists' attitude to the current regime has been clearly displayed in the stance of the CPRF on the question of no confidence in the current government. This question has been raised three times in the Duma and in one case led to significant reshuffles in the top echelon of executive power. The Communists' raising of the question of the removal from office (impeachment) of the Russian Federation president should be seen in the same light. This proposal, which is based on the will of over 3 million Russians who signed the demand for early presidential elections, was supported by 175 State Duma deputies. The CPRF faction intends to continue to make efforts in this direction.

Of the over 200 deputies' questions which deputies put to the government and other state organs, almost one-third came from the Communists. These raised most acute problems concerning Russians' lives, questions of current policy, and the elimination of lawbreaking. All members of the faction worked constantly in State Duma committees and commissions which in fact became generators of legislative initiatives. Over two-thirds of draft laws examined by the Duma were accounted for by deputies brought together in its committees.

The Communist deputies have repeatedly initiated State Duma appeals to the Russian Constitutional Court and defended the democratic requirements of the Fundamental Law there. These notably include the questions raised before the Constitutional Court about the conformity with the Constitution of presidential edicts on the second phase of privatization, the postponement of the elections of heads of administrations and organs of self-government, the military operations unleashed in Chechnya, and so on. The Chechen war was the most obvious manifestation of the disintegration of the current presidential regime, a product of which is the Dudayev regime in Chechnya.

In general, the political stance of the CPRF and its parliamentary faction with respect to the policy of the current regime has been displayed particularly clearly during the discussion in the Duma and the vote on drafts of the federal budget for 1995 and 1996. At all phases of their passage, the Communist deputies have voted unequivocally against these documents, bearing in mind that the key policy is the continued implementation of the "tough credit and financial policy" leading to the destruction of domestic industry and the agrarian sector as well as a sharp fall in the standard of living of the majority of the country's population.

At the same time, the efforts of the faction, which constitutes only 11 percent of the total number of Duma deputies, have by no means always ended in a practical result. Right-wing parties and like-minded people have put up a united front against many of the Communists' drafts. It was in fact thanks to their opposition that important acts, such as the laws on declaring the income of officials, on the creation of a Supreme State Medical Commission, on political parties, on additional guarantees of implementation of the socioeconomic rights of citizens, on preserving historical and cultural monuments perpetuating the memory of V.I. Lenin, and on state emblems, were not passed.

The Communist deputies have compensated for all these and many other shortcomings connected with the faction's small numerical strength primarily by means of constant work in electoral districts, where over 10,000 meetings with Russians have taken place, the population has been received regularly, and thousands of letters from citizens have been examined. The CPRF faction views this contact with the people and with collectives of working people in the localities as an inalienable part of the increasingly strong ties between parties and the masses, a pledge of the fact that the word of the Communists does not diverge from their deed, and that they have been and remain true to Lenin's principles of party life and state building.

Ryzhkov Comments on Left-Wing Unity

MM0712100595 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 95 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Nikolay Ryzhkov, leader of the "Power to the People!" electoral association, by Viktor Trushkov; place and date not given: "'We Must Operate as a United Left-Wing Faction in the Duma'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Trushkov] Nikolay Ivanovich, the "Power to the People!" bloc is a product of the current election campaign. It is certainly not the only one on the left flank. What are the specific features of this new political formation?

[Ryzhkov] Our bloc's specific feature is the fact that it lacks a clearly expressed party nature, and this distinguishes it from the left-wing associations taking part in the current elections — the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation], the APR [Agrarian Party of Russia], and the "Communists-Working Russia-For the Soviet Union" bloc. Each one of these left-wing electoral blocs is based either on a major party or on an alliance of kindred parties. Our bloc, on the other hand, is a union of left-wing forces independent of party allegiance. The bloc's candidate deputies include members of the CPRF. It has an especially large number of CPSU members, and I believe that the CPSU is a party which is temporarily out of action but is not yet dead. In this regard, we perceive our voters as being similar to the "Power to the People!" bloc's candidates.

[Trushkov] I would willingly agree that the left-wing forces now enjoy powerful voter support. But these voters are forced to march not in the form of a single mighty river but as diverse and therefore weak streams. Does this fragmentation suit your purpose? Can it be attributed to anything else but the ambitions of political leaders?

[Ryzhkov] It is very bad that we have not united. Incidentally, those who drafted the electoral law did a good job of creating the fewest possible preconditions for the unity of left-wing forces and — as it has now become clear — the largest possible number for the multiplicity of right-wing and center-right blocs. They ensured the proliferation of small groups. The fact that central party lists were limited to 12 persons prevented the emergence of large electoral associations. I think that this was done deliberately and is aimed against the left-wing opposition, against its unification.

The outcome of it all is that we are approaching the elections along four parallel routes. We do not have any strategic differences. No! And our tactical differences are not so fundamental as to be insuperable. I think that, once our blocs get voted into the Duma, we must unite there.

[Trushkov] Can you imagine a single left-wing faction?

[Ryzhkov] Yes. Just one. I can even show you the document which our bloc is preparing. This is a draft declaration on the creation of a coalition of people's patriotic forces in the Federal Assembly State Duma. What we propose is that it should be adopted not after, but even before 17 December. I am convinced that it is necessary to unite. None of us will be able to achieve anything in the Duma while we are fragmented. Our objective is to protect the interests of working people and the interests of the fatherland, not to be a parliamentary voting machine.

[Trushkov] Does the course of the election campaign give any grounds for hoping that this declaration will be adopted and implemented? Is left-wing unity feasible?

[Ryzhkov] At the present stage I would like to see representatives of all our four blocs speaking much more clearly about a strategic alliance. I have been constantly traveling in the recent past. There has not been a single meeting at which I have not been asked: "Why have you not united? Who are your friends and who are your foes?" I always and clearly identify the Communists and Agrarians as our strategic allies, and this really reassures people. I tell them bluntly: "It is up to you to decide for which one of us to vote. I only ask you to vote for one of our blocs without fail." They reply: "Fine, we'll make up our minds." And they immediately instruct us to prevent any further fragmentation of our genuine opposition.

Unfortunately, I have to say that the leaders of the RCWP [Russian Communist Workers Party] often be-have differently. Primarily in Moscow. Although this disease is spreading from the capital to the provinces. This year I celebrated the October holidays in Irkutsk. I attended and addressed a rally which brought together people in their thousands. One of the local RCWP organization leaders spoke after me. The main targets of his criticism were not the incumbent authorities but Zyuganov and I.

I cannot understand who is considered to be a political foe by these comrades in such cases. The regime which has led the country to national disgrace and the working people to poverty, or the champions of socialism who perceive it only slightly differently from these leaders? Do they want to force us to make public statements in response, criticizing their stance? But why should we start splitting and distracting the attention of the millions-strong left-wing forces from the anti-people policy of the incumbent authorities and from the desire to unite people so as to oppose them? I realize that the Tyulkin-Anpilov platform does not coincide with the platforms of the CPRF and the "Power to the People!" bloc. Even we still have to coordinate them to a certain extent, and in some regards we may have to agree to differ. But for now we are facing a common foe. So, do we intend to struggle against him and defeat him, or to start squabbling among ourselves?

[Trushkov] And how did the rally respond to that speech?

[Ryzhkov] Negatively. First, there are not that many people sharing this view. Second, they do not enjoy unconditional support even within the RCWP. That same day, 7 November, I had a meeting with voters just two hours after the rally. There were about 1,000 people in the hall. They were mainly people who had attended the rally. In reply to a question, I said that I could not comprehend the position taken by the RCWP speaker at the rally. A comrade immediately stood up and said: "Nikolay Ivanovich, I am one of the RCWP city committee leaders. We did not instruct the rally speaker to say that which perplexed you. That was his own point of view. On behalf of our organization, I declare: We do not support his speech at the rally and we deem it harmful. And I would ask you, when you leave Irkutsk, to bear in mind that this is not the stance of the RCWP, it is the stance of just one individual." Both the audience and I were sincerely pleased with this clarification. Incidentally, he was also pleased with this response.

[Trushkov] Nikolay Ivanovich, has it been possible to coordinate the positions of left-wing blocs in single-seat electoral districts?

[Ryzhkov] People at local level are more sensible than in the center.

There are sociopolitical associations including left-wing and people's-patriotic organizations in many oblasts. Like the Kuban "Fatherland," the Tambov "Fatherland," in Voronezh, in many regions these associations have taken the name "Power to the People!", or some other name in other oblasts. Each one of them includes up to 15 major and minor organizations. They were very thorough in the quest for a single candidate in their districts. They approached this process not from narrow-minded party considerations but from the interests of the left-wing opposition as a whole.

[Trushkov] What is your attitude toward the incessant row about the election law? Are you afraid of the 5-percent barrier?

[Ryzhkov] I perceive this row as an attempt to place either a sleeper or a piece of metal on the track used by a train traveling at full speed.... So as to derail the train and send it flying. Only a madman would do this. True enough, over the last years our laws, including the Constitution, have been treated in a very cavalier manner. Even by the "guarantor of the Constitution." The real cause of the row is simple: The so-called democrats have discredited themselves before the people to such an extent that they can no longer hope to get elected anywhere, especially in view of the 5-percent threshold.

[Trushkov] If we were to believe the "democratic" propaganda and its masters, one gets the impression that the right-wing and liberal-bourgeois forces fear a defeat at the forthcoming elections in federal electoral districts, in other words along party lists, while being confident of victory in territorial single-seat electoral districts. You recently met with voters in the Chernozem Zone, the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, and the Volga Valley. Do your meetings offer grounds to believe that the majority of voters in single-seat districts will vote for supporters of the present regime?

[Ryzhkov] The "democrats" enjoy minimal support in Belgorodskiy Electoral District where I am running. But this may not be all that indicative. I would rather rely on my impressions of the trip from the Volga River to the Pacific Ocean, on my meetings, and on the commentaries by local experts and politicians. Metallurgists use the term "traces" when a quantity is so small that it cannot be accurately quantified. Thus, there are only traces left from the former popularity of the "democrats." The claim that their blocs are weak but the "democrats" are strong at local level is just another fairy tale.

In reality things are more like the exact opposite. Their electoral blocs are helped by television and radio. The screen appearances of their party leaders may influence some people. The names of Gaydar, Yavlinskiy, B. Fedorov are being implanted in people's subconscious.... They may even do better in federal electoral districts than in territorial districts.

[Trushkov] How do you imagine the left-wing opposition's first steps in the new Duma?

[Ryzhkov] The first thing is to unite. Very quickly at that, even before the first session. We have less than a month to do this once the results are announced.

Second comes the question of the executive power. You can promulgate any documents and any laws you like, but they will produce no result if the present policy and the present government are retained. The present government cannot be tolerated any longer. It is necessary to form a government of people's trust. If the left wing were to dominate the Duma, it must hold key positions in the government. I believe that the other major Duma factions should be represented in the government. The question of power is the most crucial. The president and his structures must be made to realize that they cannot indefinitely oppose the opinion of their own people.

Third — the new government will have to amend the economic and political course. The outlines of the new course must be accurately set by the State Duma. Including a program for reviving the country's national economy. The Duma itself must take on responsibility for really monitoring the implementation of this course by the new government. Let me emphasize this: Not just a cabinet reshuffle but a change of course which can be effected only by new politicians.

[Trushkov] Will this be a course toward socialism? Incidentally, in terms of contents the "Power to the People!" bloc's election platform is certainly socialist, and in this regard it does not differ fundamentally from the CPRF platform. But as distinct from the Communists, your bloc's platform omits the actual term "socialism." Is this a matter of principle or an editorial omission?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, our document defines a society of social justice as its objective. I must emphasize that "Power to the People!" is not a party but an association, a bloc in which positions do not necessarily coincide.

As far as I personally am concerned, I constantly emphasize my commitment to socialism. Furthermore, I explain that the split in society today has not occurred because some people like Yeltsin while others do not.... Society is split because of the clash between two types of social development — the socialist and the capitalist. This is the essence of the main confrontation, this is the main question of the day. All the rest is secondary. People have realized the value of the social gains under socialism. Some three-four years ago many people naively believed that capitalism is heaven on earth, but now the majority are aware of the scale of the losses suffered by the people over the last few years.

I have always been a champion of socialism, I have never concealed this and do not intend to ever renounce it. Of course, the socialist system cannot be stagnant, it must be constantly improved. I believe that socialism is the most perfect system which ensures social justice. Let me note that socialism is not geared to the creation of social equality. This is a very distant prospect. Its deity is social justice.

We advocate that all young people should enter higher education establishments on the basis of competitive examinations to test their knowledge and their minds, not on the basis of their parents' purses. Meanwhile, I was told that 60 percent of [university] students in Irkutsk are now paying for their studies — at a cost of up to 10 million [rubles] a year. This is not only a loss of social justice, it is also obviously detrimental to the country's national interests: Talented youngsters from poor families are being deprived of education.

We need to take over from the former socialism everything that was attractive for working people and promoted the development of society while rejecting things that are obsolete and unproductive, thus giving a new meaning to socialism.

[Trushkov] But socialism is invariably associated with domination by all-people's state ownership — even if only within the framework of a mixed economy. Consequently, the most serious problem is the attitude toward the results of privatization Chubays-style. How do you perceive the solution of this problem?

[Ryzhkov] Under no circumstances can one agree with the privatization which was effected in our country. My position is not to implement a fresh nationalization. Today's economy must be mixed. It is clear that approximately one-half of the means of production (the degree of accuracy — whether 51 or 54 percent, for example — should be left for the experts to calculate and determine) must belong to the state. Railroads, power stations, coal mines, the military-industrial complex, aviation, communications... — all these must be state structures.

I believe that we also need collective ownership of shares. If an enterprise's shares are in the hands of its collective, its workers, and its veterans it would be a people's enterprise, perfectly compatible with socialism.

There is, however, a need for a fundamental review of what has been done by our promoters of capitalism to the base sectors of the national economy. We will persistently demand the revision of this privatization. We will not accept the takeover of leading enterprises from the state for next to nothing. One-fourth of the ZIL automobile plant was bought for $4 million. We had to buy presses for this plant abroad at a much higher price.

[Trushkov] Privatization was implemented in an amazingly unscrupulous manner. For example, Goskomimushchestvo [State Committee for the Management of State Property] valued the Novokuznetsk metallurgical combine at an amount equivalent to the enterprise's monthly wage costs. But the government imposed conditions which put this industrial giant completely beyond the reach of its collective. How can this plunder of the people and the state be set right?

[Ryzhkov] I think that, to begin with, it is necessary to determine the real value of each privatized enterprise as opposed to its value on paper compiled by Goskomimushchestvo. Then we need to safeguard the shareholdings of the collective, of its workers and veterans. An account should then be submitted to the remaining shareholders. They can remain shareholders, but should receive only the quantity of shares for which they have actually paid. For example, some gentleman who now owns 37 percent of "Uralmash" shares will, after the real value of this "plant of plants" has been determined, end up with...well, at most 0.5 percent of its shares.

And this is what should happen everywhere. People should own the equivalent of what they have really invested. Goskomimushchestvo's notorious guide to "500 Largest Privatized Enterprises" [spravochnik "500 Krupneyshikh Privatizirovannykh Predpriyatiy"] values the gas industry at $228.25 million. The percentage of shares in the hands of various holders is calculated on the basis of this amount. But according to estimates by Western experts, "Gazprom" is worth $600 billion at world prices, in other words over 2,000 times more. This means that the proportion of shares in this Russian joint-stock company held by each current shareholder should be reduced by a factor of at least 2,000. And the state should reclaim the difference.

As for those who organized this economic crime, they should stand trial.

[Trushkov] Presidential Staff head S. Filatov has already announced how the "piratizers" and their Kremlin sponsors would respond to such steps — civil war.

[Ryzhkov] If an authoritative commission were to inform the whole people of the scale of this outrage, who would protect those whom you dub "piratizers"? Even their bodyguards would be upset when they find out how little they have been paid when compared with how much has been plundered. One condition is necessary: Everything must be done according to the law and publicly. Then there will be nobody to wage civil war against his own people. And the new authorities would be bound to protect the people from an armed attempt against them by those who have illegally expropriated the people's wealth.

[Trushkov] There is another category of people who will certainly be affected by the millstones of inevitable changes when there is a change of power. I mean the state apparatus. What are its political sympathies at local level?

[Ryzhkov] On the whole, I did not see the local apparatus officials as fervent supporters of the present regime. There is, however, an obvious and sharp difference between the behavior of an apparatus headed by an administration head elected by the people and an apparatus subordinate to an appointed governor or mayor. Those who have been elected are very critical of the central authorities, at time even more critical than the opposition. Most probably because they come across instances when it is difficult to comprehend who is doing things — a state leader or an enemy of the country.

For example, a tonne of pollock costs $400 in Vladivostok. Transportation to Moscow adds another $400. In order to avoid this absurd situation, local managers charter ships and use them to ship the fish...around the globe — across the Pacific, Indian, and Atlantic Oceans; it works out cheaper. But the result of this is that fish consumption in the country has been more than halved. The [Maritime] Kray Administration described an absolutely ridiculous situation. Whenever our ships return to their home ports they now have to pay...25-30 percent customs duty, just like...foreign ships. Why?!

Generally speaking, my impression is that the apparatus' attitude toward the regime is, if not oppositionist, then at least critical.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 8 Dec

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["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 8 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia's forthcoming Parliamentary elections, scheduled for December 17, remain the principal domestic topic in today's Moscow-based newspapers.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on the election campaign process.

"Nine days remain before the polling day. Analysts' attention increasingly shifts from the All-Federal party ticket to single-seat electoral districts".

The neewspaper carries an article by Leonid Smiryagin, member of the Presidential Council and Head of the Regional Problems Department of the Presidential Analytical Centre.

Analysing the election campaign process, the writer of the article arrives at a conclusion that "the country will be swept by a wave of inter-party bargainings and accords shortly. Kindred parties will begin to withdraw their candidates in one another's favour so that a concession to a 'party associate' in one district would be accompanied by the associate's concession in another one."

"Such a process can only be welcomed. The lists of candiadtes would shorten, and it would be easier for consittuents to choose, and the probability of a candidate's being elected by a minority would diminish," Smiryagin writes.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on Russians who will vote abroad.

Reporting Wednesday's meeting of the Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation, the newspaper draws attention to reports by representatives of Foreign and Interior Ministries.

"Outside Russia, there are now 380,000 Russian citizens who can participate in the polling at 390 polling stations set up in 139 countries."

According to Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov, "Electoral arrangements are being made in far-off foreign countries in a calm atmosphere, whereas our immediate neighbours — primarily the Baltic republics and Ukraine — drag out a solution to important problems. Neither is there clarity about the holding of elections on the Black Sea Fleet and in Moldavia."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on the maintenance of public order on the polling day.

The newspaper quotes a report by Major-General Aleksandr Chekalin, Deputy Head of the Main Department for the Maintenance of the Public Order. Chekalin said that there will be enhanced patrolling in the capital from December 11 to 18. In the Chechen republic, 420 polling stations have been set up and will be heavily guarded.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on the 4th anniversary of the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

"Four years ago the Soviet Union was abolished and a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was established. A final destiny of the CIS has not been clarified in any way since then" is the headline of an article about the date of December 8, 1991, when the 1922 Union Treaty was terminated.

"A decision by three republics, not eleven ones, determined the future of the Soviet Union and of its citizens. Four years of new life have exposed a host of contradictions both inside the newly- independent states and at the inter-state level."

The opinion of the newspaper is that "the CIS has turned out to be in many respects an artificial form of a State set-up with an ill-considered mechanism for cooperation within the CIS framework."

The newspaper emphasises that "not a single CIS state, including Russia, was prepared for sovereignty either politically, economically or psychologically."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on a chance to resolve the Chechnya crisis.

"The people of Chechnya have a chance for a future within Russia," Anatoly Dolgolaptev, Deputy Speaker of the Federation Council, has told the newspaper. "We all are getting a chance to resolve the Chechnya crisis. A chance and hope for the revival of Chechnya and, it means, for the revival of Russia," Dolgolaptev said.

IZVESTIYA on a reliability rating of Russian banks.

The newspaper has published a rating list of Russian banks. The analysis principles, which experts of the newspaper are guided by, have won recognition in the Central Bank of Russia. Rating lists will be published in the newspaper every three months.

IZVESTIYA on the causes why pension money fails to reach pensioners.

Yuriy Bespalov, the newspaper's own correspondent in Rostov Region, has examined in detail the causes why money fails to reach pensioners in the region.

Dispairing pensioners have requested an official permission from the Mayor of Rostov-on-Don to allow them offcially to beg for money on the main street of the city. The correspondent checked three visible barriers in the path of pensions and found out that the main of them is banks' struggle for the money transferred to the region by the Pensions Fund. The 300,000 million roubles, which the region receives for the payment of pensions, enable a bank to spin the money and gain great profits every day in callous disregard for the hungry old men and women, the correspondent writes.

U.S. Takes Tough Stance on Dayton Accords

MM0712201495 Moscow TRUD-7 in Russian 8-14 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Erik Alekseyev under "About NATO in Bosnia" rubric: "Clinton Will Command the Parade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It was natural to expect that not everyone would be pleased with the terms of the Dayton agreements on pacification in Bosnia. But few people, to all appearances, thought that such a storm would be occasioned, above all, by the condition that all of Sarajevo is to pass to the jurisdiction of the Muslim-Croat federation or, to put it more simply, the Muslims. Panic is literally reigning among Sarajevo's Serbs. They are participating in angry demonstrations. Monday the deputies of Sarajevo's Serb Assembly decided to hold a referendum 12 December among the city's Serb population on the future fate of the Bosnian capital. It is hard to guess in advance how events will develop there subsequently.

But it should not be thought that the Serbs are artificially exaggerating the danger. General Bachelet, commander of the French contingent of the UN forces in Sarajevo, has admitted that the decision to reunite the city under the control of the Bosnian (Muslim) Government sets the Serbs who live there a difficult choice between "a coffin and a suitcase," i.e. between death and flight. The general was at once recalled from there, but he essentially did not repudiate his words but merely declared that his statements were not meant for the press.

Herve de Charette, French minister of foreign affairs, defined Paris's position on this question as follows: France is not calling for the Dayton accords on Bosnia to be revised, but it believes that they can be expanded and elaborated so as to guarantee the rights of the Serb population in Sarajevo.

Washington's reaction to all this was quite tough. U.S. Secretary of State Christopher declared that the possibility of any modification of the Dayton agreements is rejected.

The Croats seem to appear more obliging, since they are not refusing, in particular, to give back to the Serbs the region of the city of Mrkonjic Grad seized from them after the NATO air strikes. But just how, precisely? Ron Redment [name as transliterated], official spokesman for the UNHCR, reports that the torching and looting of the homes of Serbs who have fled the city are continuing there. According to Redment, a "scorched earth tactic" is now being implemented there.

But Washington is keeping firmly to the course of strict fulfillment of the entire pacification plan in Bosnia. To this end it is accelerating the preparations to move 20,000 of its own troops into the region, who are to form the main backbone of the 60,000-strong army of NATO and 14 other associated states, including Russia. The U.S. expeditionary corps will be equipped with the most advanced military hardware, the effectiveness of some models of which remains as yet untested.

President Clinton personally has a profound interest in the full implementation of the plan for Bosnia adopted in Dayton. With this he associates confirmation of the U.S. role as world leader, the assertion of NATO as judge and executive in peacekeeping actions in place of the United Nations, and consolidation of his own authority inside the United States and abroad. All this is particularly important for Clinton from the perspective of national presidential elections.

Bill Clinton was so convincing in his speeches to his U.S. audience designed to substantiate the significance of the U.S. role in the ins and outs of the Bosnia affair that even his chief opponent — Robert Dole, leader of the Republican majority in the Senate — stated that he would not oppose the sending of U.S. troops to Bosnia if they stay there until the Bosnian Muslims' army is armed and trained to the level of "military equilibrium" in the region. Admittedly, at the same time one of the Republicans' advisers venomously remarked that "Clinton has dug himself a hole, and so they (the Republicans) are playing a waiting game."

People on all NATO levels are continuing to try to convince Russia that the participation of its 1,500-2,000 soldiers in the Bosnian pacification is not just desirable but extremely important both for Bosnia itself and, as the prototype of Russia's place and role in partnership with NATO, in the building of an all-European security system in general.

Demurin: Russia Shares Serbs' Concern Over Sarajevo

LD0712235795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2227 GMT 7 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — Russia attaches great importance to the London conference on implementation of the Dayton agreement on Bosnia settlement scheduled for December 8-9, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mikhail Demurin told a briefing in Moscow Thursday.

Demurin explained that the conference will discuss tentative decisions on the structure of the managing and coordinating bodies of the civilian operation in Bosnia.

He emphasized that his ministry expects Russia to be amply represented on these bodies.

The conference will appoint a high envoy who will enjoy wide powers and will coordinate the civilian part of the operation, he added.

"During the conference, a number of meetings will be held to discuss humanitarian issues, creation of political bodies in Bosnia, preparation for elections, reconstruction and economic development," he underlined.

Demurin believes that the civilian component will take the lead in resolving the Bosnia crisis.

"The civilian operation will provide all the ingredients, from political to economic to humanitarian, for a lasting peace in Bosnia and the entire former Yugoslavia. It is the civilian operation that will make settlement irreversible," he said.

Demurin added that Russia will not stay out of the economic rebuilding of former Yugoslavia. It will rely chiefly on bilateral links with the countries of the region.

A special interdepartmental commission led by Russian Foreign Economic Relations Minister Oleg Davydov is developing specific steps in this direction, Demurin said. The commission will present its findings at the London conference, he added.

Asked about the status of Sarajevo disputed by the Serbian population of the Bosnian capital, Demurin answered that "the Dayton agreement cannot be adjusted on the present stage and must be observed."

At the same time, he admitted that Russia shared "the concern of Bosnian Serbs and many figures of the world community" about how the rights of the Serbian population of Sarajevo will be guaranteed in reality.

According to Demurin, "the international settlement promoters and the conflicting sides themselves may devise some additional guarantees to do away with this concern of the Serbs and thereby prevent possible consequences such as a larger outflow of refugees."

OSCE Ministers Discuss Bosnia at Budapest Meeting

LD0712194095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1845 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Sergey Zhirnikhin, Viktor Khrekov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BUDAPEST, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — The council of foreign ministers of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) met in Budapest today to discuss the OSCE's role in the establishment of durable peace in Bosnia.

The closed-door meeting is attended by foreign ministers of 53 OSCE states, delegates of international agencies and observers.

The Budapest meeting is expected to decide on the OSCE's part in preparation and monitoring of elections in Bosnia after the advent of lasting peace.

The OSCE foreign ministers are also to discuss a comprehensive European security model for the 21st century.

Final resolutions of the meeting are to be put before the OSCE's summit due to be held in Lisbon in 1996.

The meeting may sum up the OSCE's efforts in conflict-stricken regions of Europe and pass a resolution to send peacekeepers to Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan's breakaway enclave.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said hardly an internal or international problem could be cited, in which the OSCE's would not have a major or crucial palliative role.

A few years ago, wary statements sounded at conferences of the CSCE-OSCE that a political vacuum was emerging in central and eastern Europe.

However, Kozyrev said, Hungary is an example that there is no vacuum and, moreover, a dynamic group of states have emerged in those regions with a potential to rise to leading roles in European affairs.

Kozyrev cited militant nationalism as one of major threats in present-day Europe. He drew attention of the meeting to the fact that the breakup of the USSR left about 25 million ethnic Russians expatriate. Their rights are one of priorities in Russia's foreign policy, Kozyrev said.

He voiced the view that the former Yugoslavia should be allowed to re-enter the OSCE.

Lobby interviews by ITAR-TASS suggest that many delegations share this view.

Kozyrev: NATO Operation Only Part of Bosnia Peacemaking

LD0712193795 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Report by Alim Yusupov from the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Yusupov] [Passage omitted noting the OSCE is discussing former Yugoslavia among other topics at its one-day conference in Budapest]

The Russian side is actively supporting the OSCE action aimed at increasing its role in former Yugoslavia. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev does not share western politicians' enthusiasm for the NATO operation in Bosnia. Kozyrev stresses that military actions cannot fully resolve the Bosnian problem. Kozyrev thinks the political and civil side to the operation remains somewhat in the shadows, although this is far from sorted out.

[Begin Kozyrev recording] I am a long way from increasing the significance of this military and NATO factor. This is only a part of the task. Establishing peace is a huge task and the military part of it is temporary and quite limited. [end recording]

[Yusupov] [passage omitted noting that NATO is treating the military operation as a priority] Javier Solana, secretary general of the North Atlantic union, arrived in Budapest and even met with Andrey Kozyrev one-to-one. [passage omitted] [video shows Kozyrev shaking hands with various people at OSCE conference, meeting with Solana]

Moscow To Contribute To Finalizing Bosnian Accords

LD0712132495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1253 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Artyom Protasenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia will adhere to its active part in the final drafting of the peace accords on Bosnia, Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov said in an interview with ITAR-TASS today.

The accords awaiting the signing are a major step towards peace in the region, Ivanov said, adding that Russia is aware of numerous pitfalls on the path of their implementation.

The peace pact and 11 addendums to it are to be signed in Paris on December 14 by the presidents of the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Croatia.

The accords cover the bulk of settlement issues, including the political makeup of the Bosnia region, it territorial map and military policing of peace.

State leaders of the five-nation Contact Group, including Russia, are to attend the signing ceremony as witnesses. Ivanov could not name the leader of the Russian delegation to the signing ceremony.

Jakarta Embassy Standoff 'Could Deteriorate'

MM0712170195 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 95 pp 1, 3

[Report by Yevgeniy Bay and Gennadiy Charodeyev: "The Duty Commandant Was Unable To Defend the Russian Embassy in Jakarta Against East Timorese Independence Fighters"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At dawn on Thursday (midnight in Moscow) a group of 47 people got over the fence of the Russian Embassy in the Indonesian capital. Three hours later a group of roughly the same size also infiltrated the grounds of the Netherlands Embassy in Jakarta.

"We tried to stop them, but it proved impossible," a spokesman for the Dutch Embassy told AFP. "They infiltrated in small groups from all sides. We were simply terrified."

All the "attackers" were residents of East Timor, an island occupied by Indonesia in December 1975.

For the Russian representatives, in particular, the drama of the situation consisted in the fact that several Timorese who infiltrated the grounds of our embassy brought with them jerricans of gasoline, which they threatened to pour over themselves to burn themselves alive if the Indonesian police tried to drag them out by force.

The majority of the foreign missions had expected that something might happen on precisely this day. Thursday marked the exact 20th anniversary of the day Indonesia occupied East Timor and proclaimed it its province. Ever since the islanders have kept up a revolt, which, while on the whole proceeding sluggishly, has at times acquired a dramatic intensity.

This is the fourth attempt by the East Timorese in three months to find protection under the roofs of foreign diplomatic missions. The embassies of Britain, the Netherlands, Japan, and France have been subjected to "attacks" (we use this word conventionally, since the Timorese have never resorted to violence against diplomats). Then, however, the majority of the people who infiltrated their grounds wanted just one thing — to be granted political asylum. As a rule, their demands were met. In 1995 34 people have received asylum in Portugal, Timor's former owner, which clearly still feels a sense of historical responsibility for the fate of its long-suffering people.

Foreseeing a repeat of similar actions, a number of embassies in Jakarta asked the authorities to reinforce protection. Twelve policemen protected the Australian Embassy. Six policemen were stationed in two vehicles outside the French embassy.

There was not a single guard outside the Russian diplomatic mission.

The editorial office has contacted Andrey Bychkov, ITAR-TASS correspondent in Jakarta.

"Nobody is claiming that the Timorese wanted to take over the Russian Embassy specifically," he told us by telephone. "The Timorese most likely chose it at random. They 'took' the embassy fence right off and skipped away to hide beneath the eaves of embassy buildings, sheltering from the torrential tropical rain."

Our embassy — its old building — has never been guarded by the police, and at the time of the attack only the duty commandant was on guard there. Naturally, he could do nothing. He is not allowed to have a weapon, and he would not have been able to use one. Awakened diplomats arrived on the scene some time later. None of our citizens has suffered. At the time the ambassador was spending the night in his out-of-town residence.

Our colleague also reported that the embassy (approximately 30 people work in it) is currently moving to a new site, the majority of the services have already moved, and the old building has essentially been left without special supervision.

For the time being the situation in the mission's grounds remains calm, but nobody knows what the Timorese might get up to in an hour's time. At present they are demanding only a meeting with a representative of the International Red Cross and with Jose Ayala Lasso, UN high commissioner for human rights, who is currently in Jakarta. The situation could deteriorate because on the other side of the fence several dozen demonstrators defending the government's policy have approached the embassy. They are holding placards: "Timor is Indonesian territory." They are behaving quite aggressively.

What is the reaction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the events in Jakarta?

"Moscow is of course au fait with what is happening," Mikhail Demurin, deputy director of the Foreign Ministry Information and Press Department, told us. "Our telephones and fax machines are simply red-hot from constant calls from Indonesia. We have established contact with the Indonesian authorities and have also contacted representatives of the United Nations and the Red Cross. There is a hope that everything can be resolved peacefully."

We failed to obtain more detailed information from the Foreign Ministry's regional department.

An internal Foreign Ministry instruction has evidently come into force, requiring diplomats to refer journalists only to the information department. But it is also perfectly possible that employees of the Far East administration know no more than ours do about what is happening.

Timorese Refuse To Leave

LD0712223995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2130 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Bychkov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Jakarta, 8 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — The East Timorese who on Thursday broke into the Russian Embassy, will not leave without their demands of guaranteeing their safety and meeting International Red Cross and UN Commission on Human Rights representatives being fulfilled. These are the requests made known to the Russian authorities in Jakarta by the East Timorese dissidents at present on the territory of the diplomatic mission, a Russian Embassy spokesman has told ITAR-TASS.

Earlier, they met a UN official who was handed a petition demanding "speeding up a settlement to the East Timor issue under the aegis of the United Nations." A Red Cross representative, however, failed to arrive at a meeting with the East Timorese at the Russian Embassy despite a previous arrangement.

Late on Thursday night at least 15 police vehicles were on duty outside the Russian Embassy, one of which stood between the two automatic sliding doors of the embassy gate. Security forces are on the alert.

Ministry Condemns Embassy Intrusion

LD0712224995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2226 GMT 7 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — The action of a group of East Timor residents who penetrated into the Russian Embassy in Jakarta Thursday is a "violation of widely recognized international norms," Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mikhail Demurin told INTERFAX.

"A normal situation must be restored around the Russian embassy in Jakarta. At the same time, we support doing it with peaceful and non-violent means," he added.

The Russian Foreign Ministry does not have information whether the attackers demanded political asylum or not. "If they do, Russia will consider this issue individually in every specific case, guided by the Russian Constitution," he said.

Commenting on the situation with human rights in East Timor, Demurin underlined that Moscow had "repeatedly voiced concern about the well-known incidents, including in its capital of Dili."

According to Demurin, Russia suggests that the East Timor issue be solved by way of negotiation between Portugal and Indonesia under the aegis of U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

"The group of 50 East Timor residents demanded representatives of the United Nations and the International Red Cross Committee come to Russia's diplomatic mission to inform them on their position on the East Timor issue," Demurin told a briefing in Moscow later Thursday afternoon.

"To solve the situation, the Russian Embassy contacted the Indonesian Foreign Ministry and the corresponding security services," he added.

"This is not the first action of this kind," he recalled.

Prior to this, East Timor residents penetrated into the Dutch, U.S. and other embassies. "According to some sources, another group of East Timor residents is in the Dutch embassy," he added.

Defense Technology Agreement Signed With China

LD0712230195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2112 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — Russia and China have signed an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in defense technology. A source in the government headquarters described the document as a broad agreement.

The source and another in the State Military Technology Cooperation Committee declined, however, to comment on the agreement and said that the two sides want the contents of the agreement to remain confidential.

Issues on cooperation in this field were discussed on December 6 when Liu Huaqing, chairman of the Chinese Central Military Council, met with Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets.

The two sides also agreed on exchange of military academy students and discussed security in the Asian-Pacific Region.

Accord Modifying ABM Pact 'May Harm' National Security

LD0812104495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1010 GMT 8 Dec 95

[By Anatoliy Yurkin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 8 (ITAR-TASS) — "The so-called framework agreement between Russia and the United States to modify the 1972 ABM Treaty may harm Russia's national security," Russian Defence Expert General Viktor Gomenkov told ITAR-TASS today. He stated that the "leakage" of information on amendments to this treaty, organised by the Pentagon, pursued the purpose of conditioning public opinion to the liquidation of the principal provisions of the document, which has contained the arms race for more than two decades.

The text of the "framework agreement", published in the American press and alleged to be a "secret" document, evokes nothing but keen caution. This refers to all its articles. They pursue the purpose of deploying theatre missile defence systems (TMD) in areas, which the American military establishment may deem dangerous. In such cases, the text says, the Pentagon will only have to notify Russia about the places where these systems will be deployed, "including areas outside the national territory". Such notifications will be made "annually". "If the leadership of our country displays concern about the U.S. actions, the document envisages the holding of consultations to 'do away with this concern', which, of course, cannot guarantee the observance of the 1972 ABM Treaty," General Gomenkov holds.

The expert believes that the situation could be rectified if the Russian delegation to the Geneva Standing Consultative Commission on the ABM Treaty (two rounds of talks will be held there until December 20) actively came out in behalf of Russia's national interests. The delegation, Gomenkov said, has every right to vigorously demand the observance of the ABM Treaty in light of the cardinally changed situation in the world and in Europe (NATO's eastward enlargement), and considering the latest events on the Balkans.

Creation and deployment of new ABM systems (both ground and naval-based) near the borders of Russia will inevitably undermine Russia's ability to protect its territory from a missile attack. TMD complexes, no matter how some people want to whitewash them, are intended to destroy strategic missiles during their launching. "The violation of nuclear parity, to which this will lead, may produce unpredictible results," the general said.

Clinton Complaint of 'Excessive' Arms Spending Noted

MM0712130595 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "U.S. Army Will Get More Than It Needs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. President Clinton has signed a bill on military appropriations for Fiscal [Year] 1996 of $243 billion.

At the same time the President voiced serious reservations that additional funds of around $7 billion not requested by the administration have been included in the bill at the insistence of Republican legislators to cover various military programs. In particular, $493 million is intended for the construction of new B-2 strategic bombers in addition to the 20 warplanes already built or ordered. Appropriations of $3.4 billion have been allocated to continue work on developing ABM defense systems, $2.2 billion to continue development of the state-of-the-art F-22 fighter, $700 million to build a third Seawolf attack submarine, and $2.4 billion for the procurement of eight C-17 heavy transport aircraft. Some of these appropriations, according to Clinton, constitute "excessive expenditure on projects that are not currently of vital importance for defense."

Further From Ministry 'Source' on U.S. Satellite Launch

MM0812115395 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 95 p 3

[ITAR-TASS report: "Latest Spy Satellite Launched"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 7 Dec — The United States has launched the latest spy satellite to observe Russian territory, an ITAR-TASS correspondent reports, citing a well-informed source at the Russian Federation Defense Ministry.

According to the source's information, at 0018 hours Moscow time on 6 December a powerful Titan-4 delivery vehicle carrying a Keyhole reconnaissance satellite lifted off from the Vandenberg USAF base.

Keyhole is an optical-electronic reconnaissance satellite which is used for routine and operational observation from space of objects [illegible] the earth's surface, well-informed sources at the Russian Defense Ministry told the ITAR-TASS correspondent. The satellite, weighing around 13 tonnes, is a large cylinder 15 meters long and 3 meters in diameter containing highly sophisticated apparatus. It is capable of producing a detailed image of an object on the earth's surface with an accuracy of 15 cm. These satellites can function in low, near-earth orbit for several years.

Since 1976 the United States has launched nine rockets intended to put Keyhole satellites into near-earth space. Some of them have ceased to exist and at present there are three spy satellites of this type still functioning which were placed in orbit in 1988, 1992, and 1995 respectively.

Moscow Declines To Comment

LD0712224795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2050 GMT 7 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: by diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov, and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — Russian foreign ministry representative Mikhail Demurin at a news briefing on Thursday declined to comment on Wednesday's launch of an American spy satellite aimed at monitoring Russian territory.

He said "the question is one of a specific area of military activity" and certain programs in this area.

Demurin said "Russia also has similar programs."

Estonia Denies Visa; Moscow Reserves 'Right To Respond'

LD0712211895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1944 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — The refusal by Estonia to grant an entry visa to Chairman of the Congress of Russian Communities political bloc Dmitriy Rogozin represents a purely political decision, and an unprecedented decision in bilateral relations, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mikhail Demurin told a Thursday briefing.

He said the Russian side reserves the right to respond accordingly.

According to the ministry's understanding, the visa application was submitted in due time, Demurin said.

A report of the press service of the Congress says on Dec. 1 the Estonian Embassy denied an entry visa without giving any explanations to Rogozin who had been invited by the Union of Slavic Charitable and Educational Societies.

Rogozin was planning to visit Narva, Sillamae and Tallinn to see how Russian communities are preparing for the Duma elections.

Meanwhile, the Estonian embassy says Rogozin and other members of the Congress delegation were not denied entry.

It claims delegation members applied for visas on Nov. 30 but when they heard their applications would be processed for 10 days they gave up the visit.

Ministry Denies Regular Georgian Troops in Abkhazia

LD0712205595 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] There are no Georgian regular troops in the Abkhazian territory controlled by the Russian peacekeeping forces, including Gali District, said a spokesman of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mikhail Demurin, while commenting on reports alleging that Georgian armed units were present within the zone controlled by Russia.

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs monitors closely the situation in the Abkhaz-Georgian conflict zone and possesses comprehensive information, the spokesman said.

Mikhail Demurin also said that according to a report by the command of the Russian peacekeeping forces in Abkhazia, a regular meeting of the representatives of the Abkhaz and Georgian sides, Russian peacekeepers and the UN military observers, which was held on Wednesday [6 December], had confirmed that there had been a reduction in lawless activities of criminal gangs. Incidentally, ethnic Georgians as well as Abkhaz are involved in criminal activities.

Response Positive to Transfer of Power in Haiti

LD0712224695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2229 GMT 7 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — Demurin also spoke of Moscow's positive response to Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's clearly expressed determination to hand over power to a new president after elections.

He said that as a permanent Security Council member taking part in a Haitian settlement, Russia was following closely the process of democratization in that country.

He described as being a landmark Haiti's presidential election on December 17 which can help restore the country's constitutional basis.

The spokesman said that any breach of Haiti's international commitment to democratization could only fan up the already high tension in that island state.

Political Issues

Yeltsin, Aide Discuss Election Campaign, Chechnya

LD0712153295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1331 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — Presidential aide Aleksandr Korabelshchikov informed Russian President Boris Yeltsin about the preelection campaign to the State Duma during their working meeting Thursday, primarily about the situation in one-mandate districts and 12 regions which will elect heads of administrations.

The presidential press service told INTERFAX Thursday that Korabelshchikov informed Yeltsin about fulfillment of the president's instructions aimed at further normalizing the situation in Chechnya. They also spoke about the work over the agreement on principles of mutual relations between Russia and the Chechen republic and on the draft Constitution of the Chechen republic.

Korabelshchikov also informed about the preparation to the elections underway in the republic.

They also spoke about the work over the agreement on division of powers between the Federation's constituent members and federal authorities.

Chernomyrdin Makes Address on Social Reforms

LD0812112495 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 8 Dec 95

[Address by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin — live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] I would like to speak to you now not from the television screen and not as part of an official obligatory preelection measure, but to speak about how things are at the moment and what will happen in the future. I am addressing you now not only as chairman of your government but as a man who is aware of the many problems facing us and who is striving, together with you, to find ways of solving them.

Today it is very necessary to explain to people precisely what we propose to do. We are united not by big words about saving Russia and the greatness of its power or by reckless prospects for endless reforms. This is all quite alien to us. But this in no way means that the reforms are not necessary in a general sense. It is about something else. We must complete the present stage of the way they are being carried out in Russia with important additions to the edifice which has already been erected.

Our position in this respect is a simple one. There must be social changes, supported by the majority of the citizens and carried out in their interests. It is important, however, that there should be a realistic and serious plan for implementing these reforms. And in this respect our wise conservatism blends perfectly with our desire to propose social innovations for Russia, from the very first having concrete practical content where it is clear what is required from the state and what they can realistically give to the people.

The projects about which I am speaking are not copied from Western textbooks for improving society — they are ours, Russian, and for Russia.

I will speak about three of the more interesting ones, although they are diverse, weighty, feasible, and capable of bringing benefit to many people literally from the first days of their implementation. For example, the state program of aid to people who are suffering from sugar diabetes. This is an original method on a truly statewide scale to do everything possible to ease their situation.

The method is simple. Everyone in need of help will be given a little personal radio receiver to be carried at all times. This radio receiver will be tuned to just one frequency which will broadcast round-the-clock information on the availability of medicine in the pharmacies and doctors' advice for the patient, recommendations on the use of folk medicine, and so on. Some will say this is too small-scale for a state program. No, it is not small. It does not only mean that millions of people can be helped in this way. This program is a real social reform, a specific, targeted help for every individual.

We have other projects. For example, a program of social protection and help for retired army officers. We have an employment program for former servicemen. What sort of program is it? There are several approaches. One of these is the law on compulsory allocation of land to a person retiring from the armed forces after serving a certain number of years. The land is to be given not just to build a dacha or to use as a vegetable plot. It should be a piece of land with full rights of ownership, so it can be lived on, used in any way, and even sold. A specific program of helping former servicemen to set up small-scale and medium-scale businesses has been drawn up to complement this scheme. We should help them with a substantial sum of money and an opportunity to buy or rent on preferential terms equipment for small enterprises — many of them can be helped in this way. These two initiatives are also social reforms, specific and targeted. They do not aspire to global dimensions, but they can offer real, actual help to a real, not imaginary person, our own Russian officer, to quickly find his place in civilian life, to equip himself for the realities of the modern Russian economy.

Let us look at the problem of social reforms — the sensible, the competent, the long-term, and the specific — in an even broader way. Let us ask those who promise social guarantees for the protection of all members of society if they have realistic plans of achieving them? It seems to me that by no means all of them, even when the parties are not proposing utopia in the form of a return to the Soviet version of socialism.

The platforms of various movements close to the Western-type social-democrats are erroneous ones, erroneous mainly because of the lack of realism and for their promise to accomplish within two-three years everything in Russia in the same way as such a small, well-to-do, quiet country as Sweden. Russia is a far more complex country, and not a quiet one. The experience of the last seven reformative years shows that European-type social democracy is not the path for Russia.

Today I would like to speak about someone who has been forgotten by many of the reformers, the civil servant. For some reason or another in recent years insulting words have been thrown at civil servants too frequently and fecklessly by all kinds of saviors of Russia — critics of the government. For some reason all civil servants are [called] petty functionaries, bureaucrats, and sometimes even parasites. Why are they being called these things? How can a rural teacher be a bureaucrat or a petty functionary? Or an employee of the courts, the procuracy, a policeman, a customs officer, a forest warden, a state librarian — these are not petty functionaries but serving people, people of the state, first and foremost. They have been running the life of the state since time immemorial. Their work is not always apparent, especially today during such times of change which have been occurring in Russia. But our state cannot look forward to a good future for itself without them.

We must do much much more than has been done, not only for the social protection of these people but also for a significant increase in their status in society by improving their wages, benefits, and other things. In recent years the government has been able to do much. I will mention just the introduction of a unified wage scale according to category.

But this is not the end of it. The importance of the problem is obvious. If we give a worthy place in society to millions of civil servants and define them as a single social category then we will able to count on strengthening our state at all levels and in many spheres of state life.

How can we proceed along the path of strengthening the social status of the civil servant, how can we enhance it? Of course, not everything can be done at once, but why do we try not only to index-link the wages of the civil servant but also to create for them a considered system of programs of the kind I mentioned when I spoke about people being discharged from the armed forces. Incidentally, it is not necessary to give such programs the title of reforms; they simply need to be found, considered, and — this is the main thing — implemented.

That is our position and we stick firmly by it. Practice, experience, realism, and responsibility together with the innovative qualities of the young people responsible for Russia's destiny. That is our formula of realistic and not inflated achievements in the sphere of social changes. We shall, in the Russian tradition, place before the whole world a strong house which will never be in need of any restructuring.

Rutskoy Accuses Yeltsin of Creating 'Mafia Jungle'

AU0712141995 Vienna NEWS in German 7 Dec 95 p 67

[Interview with Aleksandr Rutskoy by Herbert Bauernebel in Moscow; date not given: "Yeltsin Should Pay for His Crimes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In 1993, Aleksandr Rutskoy appointed himself counter-president and barricaded himself in the "White House." After the "White House" was stormed by troops loyal to Yeltsin, he went to prison for half a year. The title of his latest book is "Bloody Autumn."

[Bauernebel] If you were president, would you indict Yeltsin?

[Rutskoy] Of course. As a warning to everyone: You must pay for your crimes against the Russian people.

[Bauernebel] Crimes?

[Rutskoy] Yeltsin has turned Russia into a mafia jungle, his economic experts are children in pink underpants.

[Bauernebel] You are trying a comeback as an author?

[Rutskoy] Everyone should learn the truth about the storming of the "White House" — I have provided the script for a movie.

Shumeyko: Federation Council May Query Court

LD0712152895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1331 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, 7 Dec (INTERFAX) — The speaker of the Russian Federation Council [FC] (upper house) Vladimir Shumeyko does not rule out that when the FC meets in session for the last time on December 9, it may decide to probe once again into the legality of the law on the formation of the upper house, approved by the State Duma (lower house) and signed by the president. The upper house may send an appropriate request to the Constitutional Court, Shumeyko told journalists in Moscow on Thursday after the Constitutional Court refused to consider the FC's request to interpret the term "formation of the Federation Council."

Asked whether he believed a second request would make sense, Shumeyko replied: "I am the FC speaker and I shall make my own decision only after I know the decision of the house."

About the court's ruling, Shumeyko said that it must be respected.

At the same time, Shumeyko remarked that "the Constitutional Court chairman made a rather telling statement that 'by adopting the law the law-makers fulfilled their duty.' It turns out that it is enough for law-makers to pass a law consisting of one clause to let everybody say they have fulfilled their duty. In that case it is unclear what is the role of the court," Shumeyko said.

Daily Speculates on West's Attraction to Yavlinskiy

MM0712115595 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 95 p 1

[Article by Boris Slavin: "Why Is G. Yavlinskiy a Western Yes-Man?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The closer the election campaign comes to its finish the franker the Duma candidates who in the long term want to become Russian president. One such figure is Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, on whom not only Russian democrats but also Western capital is counting today.

What is it in Yavlinskiy that attracts the West? I think it is not his age, not his outward appearance and relaxed manner of speaking but above all the content of what he says. And he asserts that he will continue to pursue market reforms more intelligently and consistently than Gaydar and will not allow the political and military integration of the former union republics.

The latter fact is one you almost never hear in his election campaign inside the country. But in the West Yavlinskiy expresses his views freely. Thus, in THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE recently, accusing Yeltsin of an ambivalent approach toward the integration of the former union republics, he frankly stated that Russia "must refrain from any political alliance with Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova even if it receives an invitation from those states." He also called for a reduction of financial aid to Russia by increasing it to the former union republics on condition that market reforms in them are continued.

Why does a political alliance of CIS countries so frighten Yavlinskiy since after all it is advocated by virtually all Russian politicians from Gonchar and Romanov to Rutskoy and Zhirinovskiy? I think there is one reason — the desire to please the West's main strategists, who believe that in no event should an alliance between Russia and Ukraine and Belarus be allowed. Is it not for this zeal that Grigoriy Yavlinskiy has received virtually unlimited financial opportunities for mounting his election campaign?

Gorbachev Comments on Russian, International Issues

AU0712172595 Vienna NEWS in German 7 Dec 95 p 66

[Report by Peter Pelinka: "My Candidacy Is Open"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The breath of history wafted through Grinzing [a district of Vienna]: Monday [4 December], shortly after 2000, three black limousines braked in front of the house in Himmelstrasse 22. In addition to three (visibly) well-muscled and (invisibly) armed men and three diplomats with a friendly smile, the car in the middle disgorged a couple that has made international history: The 64-year-old former state and party leader, creator of "glasnost" (openness) and "perestroyka" (restructuring) — concepts of a policy that led to the end of the Soviet Union and the entire East Bloc. At his side charming Raissa, doctor of sociology, niece of legendary Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko.

The famous couple have come to Austria for the first time upon invitation by the City of Vienna, Bank Austria, Raiffeisenbank, and the Industrialist' Association — for an estimated 2 million schillings. The Nobel Peace Prize laureate is worth his money: His comments on the Russian and international situation, outlined between bites of typically Viennese food, are as follows:

Regarding the current situation in Russia, Gorbachev said: "We are registering a strong social shift to the left, which is linked with growing social problems and with the loss of international importance by Russia, the Soviet Union's legal successor."

Commenting on his country's social situation, he noted: "Since 1990 the supply of fish has gone down to one-third, that of meat, milk, and sugar to 50 percent. Life expectancy has declined from 70 (66 for men, 73 for women) to currently 57 years, a result of the high intake of alcohol and the high infant mortality."

Concerning rightists Zhirinovskiy and Lebed, he said: "Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and General Lebed are different calibers. Zhirinovskiy cannot be taken seriously anymore.

With regard to his potential candidacy at the 1996 presidential elections, Gorbachev stated: "The 1 million supporting signatures are not the real problem. The real problem rather is that many people think I am dodging responsibility if I do not run in this difficult situation, and many — for instance in the press of the communists and that of the president — are already instigating against it. I have not yet made any decision; the mood in our family is also split. My wife is strictly against it.

Speaking about Yeltsin's policy, he noted: "This was not just a shock therapy. Quite often it is only a shock without any therapeutical value. However, this policy is not made just by one person, but by an entire group.

Regarding Bosnia, he stated: "This tragedy, too, is linked with the fact that Russia has taken its leave from international responsibility. In autumn 1991 I talked to Tudjman and Milosevic; at that time it would still have been possible to find political solutions. Afterwards, too many people looked for salvation too quickly in diplomatic recognitions.

Concerning Chechnya, Gorbachev pointed out: "I was an opponent of our government's policy right from the beginning of the escalation. For a long time one had keep one's eyes closed, and then suddenly ultimatums were given. The fact that now Chechen leader Dudayev reportedly suggests me as a mediator is rather part of a Russian conspiracy against me.

In connection with NATO, he said: "It is a product of the outdated Cold War. The Europeans should develop their own security system, which would not be opposed to the U.S. interests. The element of force is gaining too much importance in international relations again.

With regard to the role of the neutral countries, he said: "Countries like Austria, Switzerland, and Sweden could play a big role in developing a peaceful and self-confident Europe.

Regarding the situation in East Europe, Gorbachev noted: "It is a sign of weakness, when my friend Zdenek Mlynar, one of the leaders of the Prague spring, was almost put on trial for treason because he supports the leftist opposition."

Slovak Embassy Drafts Document on National Security

AU0712142395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 5 Dec 95 p 4

["Document" drafted by the Slovak Embassy in Moscow and addressed to three departments in the Foreign Ministry, the Defense Ministry's Foreign Policy Section, and the National Council of the Slovak Republic Foreign Committee: "The State Duma's View on the National Security Situation in the Russian Federation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a plenary session on 18 October 1995, deputies in the State Duma criticized the standard of national security in the country. The State Duma says in its adopted resolution (see appendices No. 1 and No. 2) that the state of national security in the country is extremely deficient. Some 227 deputies recommended that the Russian Federation president submit to the State Duma by 31 December 1995 a draft national security doctrine. In the draft state budget for 1996, the State Duma decided to take into consideration the necessity of procuring the material-technical provisions necessary to improve the standard of national security. (Note: Regarding the issue of formulating the concept for national security, see also our No. 23 503/95-PU [not further specified]).

It is symptomatic that the chairman of the State Duma Security Committee, V. Ilyuchin — and also several other deputies — proceeded in his speech from the premise of a general concept for national security, a concept that incorporates organically the economic, military, scientific-technical, socio-political, and geopolitical aspects. The deputies highlighted the following factors in their debate:

— The Russian Federation national security situation has reached a critical phase. There is a danger of the actual loss of Russian statehood; the country's economy and defense capability are being undermined; there is a threat to territorial integrity; and the decline in the growth (natural renewal) of the population has assumed catastrophic dimensions.

— Russian Federation citizens have no social security; their state of health is deteriorating; and the intensive process of their aging and physical and psychological degradation is continuing.

— The criminalization of social relations is intensifying. Authority is, to an ever greater extent, becoming alienated from the people. Russia's geopolitical interests are not being defended. Russia's prestige as a major power has declined catastrophically.

The deputies' assessments and comments resulted overwhelmingly in the following conclusions:

I. The State of Russia's National Security in the Economic Sphere

The country's economic security is at risk from the following:

— the decline in output in 1990-94 in the engineering, fuel and energy, and transportation sectors amounted to 70-80 percent; this decline is continuing;

— the volume of GDP for the aforementioned period declined more than twofold;

— in 1994, compared with 1993, investments in the country's economy fell by 27 percent and, compared with 1991, by 61 percent;

— the volume (extent) of the influx of foreign investments in industry, the infrastructure, and the banking sphere is not limited;

— at the beginning of 1995, Russia's overall debt amounted to $112.7 billion;

— Russia's gold reserves have declined sharply. During the years of perestroika and "shock therapy," 900 metric tons of gold were exported from Russia. On 1 April 1995, Russia possessed 120.2 metric tons compared with the 8,200 metric tons of gold reserves in the United States;

— in 1994, Russia came close to the dangerous brink when foreign debts are repaid by means of foreign loans;

— the possibilities for economic stability and recovery are also somewhat limited because of the exodus of capital abroad. According to figures from the Russian Central Bank, in the years 1992-94 alone, the export of Russian capital amounted to more than $45-60 billion. The dangerous trend of the dollarization of the Russian economy — which has factually fallen under the control of Western countries and the United States — is continuing;

— the country's agricultural security has run into trouble. The production of basic types of foodstuffs has fallen by 30-40 percent. Including meat, this figure is 37 percent and milk products — 63 percent. Russia's increased strategic dependence on their import confirms this. At present, Russia purchases about 50 percent of its consumed food products and Moscow, for example, purchases up to 70 percent.

II. The State of Russia's National Security in the Military Sphere

— The Russian Army and Navy are being de facto established from scratch. Thirteen combined armies, four tank armies, two strategically assigned missile armies, three air defense armies, and five air forces equipped with the most modern hardware have remained in the CIS countries;

— Russia has de facto lost the Black Sea Fleet, and the Baltic Fleet is carrying out its combat tasks in Russia's territorial waters with difficulties. The combat preparedness (readiness) of the submarine fleet — compared with 1991 — has declined five to sixfold and that of the surface fleet ten to twelvefold;

— the change in the attitude toward performing military service is also a threatening trend. Pragmatism prevails over patriotic conviction. The number of crimes committed by career soldiers is increasing. For example, in the first half of 1995 alone, the bodies involved in criminal proceedings recorded more than 11,000 such crimes;

— the undermining of the military-industrial complex [VPK], whose many facilities have been privatized, is a dangerous tendency. A large percentage of the shares in VPK enterprises are being acquired by foreign investors;

— following the collapse of the USSR, 80 percent of VPK production capacities remained on Russian Federation territory. However, only 17 percent of the weapons systems can be manufactured autonomously from them and the remaining 83 percent can only be manufactured on the basis of cooperation with CIS countries.

— in the opinion of experts, only one in four tanks, one in seven armored personnel carriers, and one in 10 infantry combat vehicles correspond to current requirements.

Equipping the army with such modern hardware accounts for 30 percent of the arsenal of the Russian Federation Armed Forces.

III. The State of National Security in the Sphere of Science and Technology

— Russia, which recently was one of the leading countries involved in global scientific-technical progress and incorporated substantial scientific-technical potential, is now assuming the characteristics of a colonial-type country;

— in 1992-93, 300,000 scientific and technical staff left VPK scientific research. Russia is losing $60-70 billion per annum due to the drain of such intellectual potential;

— 5 million people worked in Russian science at the beginning of 1991. There were 3.5 million at the end of 1991 and, at the moment, there are only 1.5 million. The development trend suggests that this number will fall to 500,000 in the near future;

— the extent of the application of scientific-technical innovations has declined sharply. In 1993, of the 117 progressive technologies intended for production, only 30 were realized. More than 80 percent of the work done on new techniques and technologies is not applied at all in production;

— the research and technical base in the RAV [Russian Academy of Sciences] scientific organizations corresponds to only 26 percent of the world standard.

IV. The State of Russian National Security in the Social Policy Sphere

— the decline in the population's social security is continuing drastically. The standard of living of 120 million Russians has declined three to fivefold since the start of economic reform. According to various assessments, their real income has fallen two to threefold.

— according to diverse assessments, 20-40 percent of the Russian population is on the verge of poverty.

— the number of unemployed, according to the official figures, accounts for 7.0 percent of the active population and, when undeclared unemployment is included, this rate reaches 13 percent;

— the number of suicides is increasing as is the spread of mental illness. Approximately 15 percent of citizens, mainly young people, use drugs regularly or sporadically. Some 1.5 million take them regularly;

— one family in six has problems with excessive alcohol use. In total, the amount of its consumption in Russia — according to various estimates — has reached 14 to 18 liters per person per annum.

— the number of homeless is more than 60,000.

— the criminalization of society has reached alarming proportions. Three million crimes were recorded in the Russian Federation in 1994. Almost 500,000 citizens meet a violent death per annum. Earnings from the drugs trade have reached 50-60 billion Russian rubles per annum. During the first eight months of 1995, 80 metric tons of narcotics were confiscated. Criminal gangs are trying to make their way into high-level politics.

— the domestic political situation remains unstable and tense. In Russia, almost 40 percent of the population rejects the extant political system (in the majority of countries, this involves a maximum of 10-20 percent of the population).

Conclusion

The comments and assessments of Russian parliamentary deputies on the catastrophic state of Russian national security has to be viewed against the backdrop of the accelerating election campaign to the State Duma, which set the somewhat critical tone of the parliamentary debate. Therefore, it is symptomatic that the debate — regardless of its, to a considerable extent, objective character — culminated in the unequivocal conclusion that it is high time to frame in a comprehensive form a concept for national security, including the more effective assertion of Russia's national interests. It is also symptomatic that the aforementioned conclusion was welcomed by the country's political leadership (president, government), which has — in the opinion of the Russian president's assistant for national security issues, J. Baturin — to adopt practical measures to improve the state of the country's national security and also to deal with the problems associated with the discordant promotion of the president's foreign policy line, problems that — in principle — ensue from the existence of a compact set of general and binding views expressed by the state leadership on issues of the country's national security.

Federal Assembly

Passage of Law on Federation Council Analyzed

MK0812104495 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Yevgeniy Krestyaninov, chairman of the Federation Council Committee for Regulations and Parliamentary Procedures: "Law on Federation Council Elections Signed by President Yeltsin. However, Constitutional Court Will Have Its Say on the Matter"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Either due to the frantic electoral fever, or to the enmity harbored by the parliament's lower chamber against the upper chamber, the State Duma, convening a special session especially to decide the fate of the law "On a Procedure for the Formation of the Federation Council," rejected by the Federation Council, was driven to vote for the law, approving it in its earlier version. The deputies had neither discussed the issue, nor heard their fellow members from the State Duma Legislation Committee.

The unfitness of "Chilingarov's" draft law passed by the Duma is quite obvious by now. Indeed, a federal body made up of the heads of regional executives — governors, administration heads, prime ministers, the chairs of legislative assemblies or oblast dumas — is anything but a parliamentary chamber; that is, a legislative and representative body of state power, as the status of the Federation Council is defined by the Russian Constitution.

As I mentioned before, when considering different approaches to the issue of the formation of the Federation Council, we, judging by the highest standards, probe the degree of preparedness or unpreparedness of our Russian society, and the power structures formed by it, for consistent implementation of democratic principles, for the creation of the fundamental basis for a law-governed state, and for the formation of a stable, firmly established society.

Numerous studies by both national and foreign political scientists have clearly proved that the institutions of representative democracy are crucially important for carrying out institutional transformations. This was fully understood by politicians — both theorizing and practicing — in the past.

However, we seem to have failed to learn from and benefit from the experience accumulated through not just years, but centuries. The law passed by the State Duma, in fact, turns the Federal Assembly into a one-chamber parliament comprised of the selfsame Duma. No one is likely to question the inability of the Federation Council, with its membership as stipulated by the State Duma, to perform its primary task of being a chamber of the legislature. If the Federation Council is to be viewed as a certain entity convening from time to time (even in the event the time has been specified by the regulations) to make sporadic decisions, one can justify forming the Federation Council by including in it, by virtue of their positions, the heads of Federation component executives, who despite their working under pressure, can concentrate on resolving one particular problem. This, however, becomes either virtually impossible or inevitably leads to poor results. Meanwhile, at issue is the systematic performance of the legislative function, unequivocally stipulated by the Russian Federation Constitution to be the basic function of the Federation Council.

The State Duma, however, just before the curtain-fall, does not seem very much concerned about the stable development of the Russian legislative base: An emotionally-laden struggle with certain characters, inappropriate for a state power body, held sway over common sense.

"Truth is not something that can be proved, but rather something that cannot be avoided," said the famous French pilot and writer Antoine de Saint-Exupery. The truth has apparently transpired in this move by the Duma: We are such as we are, and we are only starting on our way toward creating a genuinely democratic society, whereas the way itself will be hard and long.

Ryabov Expects New Federation Council Session in Jan

LD0712212595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2051 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — Chairman of the Central Election Commission Nikolay Ryabov believes that it would be "most natural" if Russian President Boris Yeltsin sets the first session of the newly-organized Federation Council "for mid-January, simultaneously with the first plenary session of the new State Duma."

He believes it is "insignificant" which Federation Council, the present one or a new one, will confirm the 1996 budget adopted by the State Duma Wednesday.

Commenting on consideration of the budget by the Federation Council on December 9, Ryabov said that "if someone now strikes an attitude assuming that he will be permitted to stay in the parliament upper chamber until the budget is adopted, he is absolutely naive."

"The budget approved by the Duma and supported by the government will be implemented in any case, and it may be confirmed legislatively when the new Federation Council starts its work," Ryabov believes.

The Duma-adopted and president-signed decree On Principles of Formation of the Federation Council "presents a normal basis for functioning of this chamber," Ryabov noted. At the same time he underlined that "the presidential version of this decree "was more optimal and more detailed and concrete than the Duma one."

Regional Affairs

Chechnya Reportage: Political, Election, Military

Russian, Chechen Agreement Signed 8 Dec

LD0812080595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0753 GMT 8 Dec 95

[By Artem Protasenko and Gennadiy Yezhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 8 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin today said after signing an agreement on the basic principles of relations between the Russian Federation that agreement will serve as the basis for drawing up a package of documents on the division of authority between the federal centre and the Chechen republic, similar to those already signed between the Russian government and some component parts of the Federation.

Chernomyrdin stressed that all parties to the agreement "must do everything in their power to settle the Chechen crisis by peaceful means."

Chechen Premier Doku Zavgayev, who signed the document on behalf of the government of the Chechen republic, described the agreement as "an event of great importance and a contribution to the cause of peace and concord."

According to Zavgayev, "the sentiments of people in Chechnya and their attitude to the coming elections in a republic where no elections have been held in five years" can be regarded as a guarantee of the effectiveness of the agreement.

The agreement between the federal centre and the Chechen republic signed today provides for the Chechen republic's participation in international and foreign economic relations, the adoption by the Chechen republic of its own Constitution and legislation, as well as for the right of the bodies of state authority of the Chechen republic to exercise independently their powers, including in the formation of the republic's budget, taxation and organisation of the system of power.

In addition, they will decide matters relating to the ownership, use and disposal of natural resources, as well as state-owned enterprises and other property on the territory of the republic with the exception of federal property.

Under the document, the bodies of state authority of the Russian Federation and the Chechen republic will act in concert in protecting human and national minority rights, coordinating activity in combating crime and ensuring public security as well as in tackling other problems.

The document says the government of Russia will continue to provide financial and other resources to compensate the republic's population for the damage, build housing and restore the economic and social sphere. To this end, a special programme for the development of the Chechen republic will be enacted. It will include measures to develop the republic's mountainous areas. In addition, customs and tax benefits are due to be provided.

For the purpose of developing cultural, trade and economic ties the Chechen republic, under the agreement, will be allowed to have its representation missions in other countries.

The agreement took effect from the moment of its signing.

Premier, Zavgayev Comment After Signing

LD0812075295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
0741 GMT 8 Dec 95

[By Artem Protasenko and Gennadiy Yezhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 8 (ITAR-TASS) — "Chechnya's special status, envisaged by the Agreement on the main principles of relations between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic, which was signed today, gives Chechnya equal rights with other republics, integrated in Russia, and will be put into effect within the framework of the Russian Constitution," Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin told TASS after the signing of the document. It was signed by the Russian prime minister, head of the Chechen government Doku Zavgayev and Oleg Lobov, representative of President Yeltsin in Chechnya.

"No opposition to the process of peaceful settlement of the Chechen crisis can stop the process that has been started," Chernomyrdin stressed. Chechen head of government Zavgayev said at a short briefing that "it was a long way for the federal authorities and the Chechen leadership towards the signing of the Agreement." In his opinion, two decrees of President Yeltsin — the decree on legal guarantees for participants in combat operations, who did not commit grave crimes (which makes it possible for the Chechen authorities to exempt them from punishment), and the decree on the adoption of a programme for the restoration of the economy and the social sphere of Chechnya — played a crucial role in the signing of the Agreement.

Treaty To Be Signed After Elections

LD0812093595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
0922 GMT 8 Dec 95

[By Gennadiy Yezhov and Artyom Protasenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 8 (ITAR-TASS) — "A treaty on the division of authority between state bodies of the Russian Federation and those of the Chechen Republic will be prepared and signed irrespective of the results of the election of head of the republic on December 17," head of the Chechen government Doku Zavgayev told journalists on Friday. According to Zavgayev, it may be signed after the elections and the adoption of the Chechen Constitution.

At the same time, he continued, the changing of a political situation in Russia could not but influence the implementation of the programme of the restoration of the economic and social sphere of Chechnya. In Russia, however, "there are reasonable and decisive forces, which realize that the programme must be implemented." Zavgayev does not believe combat operations will be resumed soon, because "the population condemns all acts of terrorism. They are criminal and very much at variance with Caucasian morality." The republican leadership is ready for any compromises for the sake of achieving stabilization and restoration of peace, Zavgayev stressed. "Contacts with the Dudayev side will be continued until the problem is resolved once and for all."

Zavgayev gave an interview to journalists after the signing of the agreement on fundamentals of relations between the Russian Federation and Chechnya by himself and Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin.

Zavgayev on Power-Sharing Agreement

LD0712232695 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2112 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — An agreement on basic principles of relations between Russia and Chechnya will become the basis for a full-fledged power sharing treaty between the two sides, Doku Zavgayev, the head of the Chechen Republic's government, told INTERFAX Thursday night.

The agreement will be signed by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Zavgayev in Moscow on December 8.

Zavgayev expressed confidence that the agreement will speed a solution to issues such as the status of Chechnya, legitimacy of its authorities, and elections. The relations between Chechnya and Russia will be better defined, he said.

According to Zavgayev, the agreement will contain elements of the special status of the Chechen Republic as a constituent part of the federation. In particular, Chechnya will tackle issues in implementing the Russian president's decree on legal guarantees for members of illegal militias that have ceased hostilities.

Chechnya will also be allowed to open its legations abroad in order to step up cultural, trade, foreign economic and other links.

According to Zavgayev, the agreement was drafted by Chechens and discussed by the republic's Supreme Soviet and government.

Maskhadov: 'Either War, Or Let Us Make Peace'

MK0712132695 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian
No. 49, 7-13 Dec 95 (Signed to press 6 Dec 95) p 3

[Interview with Aslan Maskhadov, chief of staff of the Chechen Armed Forces, by Nadezhda Chaykova: "Aslan Maskhadov: Either War or Peace" — place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] Aslan Maskhadov, a former colonel in the Soviet Army and currently a brigadier general and chief of staff of the Chechen Republic-Ichkeriya's armed formations and the number two in the Dudayev entourage, is known as both the organizer of Chechnya's defensive war and a participant in the peace talks, a co-author of the 30 July agreement. OBSHCHAYA GAZETA correspondent Nadezhda Chaykova asked him to express his view on the upcoming elections in Chechnya.

[Maskhadov] I think that not only we, but the whole world has realized that this is a sham, a show staged by Russia and its pawns. We will do everything possible so that they will not take place. But even if elections are simulated, they will have no significance whatsoever.

[Chaykova] In what settlements have polling stations been set up as far as you know?

[Maskhadov] There will be no polling stations in any settlement. I allow for exceptions in three or four settlements of Nadterechnyy Rayon, but in other areas no Chechen will dare open such stations. Maybe only imitations — transportable polling stations, and so forth.

[Chaykova] Will you invite international observers on 17 December?

[Maskhadov] We will invite them when truly democratic elections are held. But at present there is nothing to show. For a normal person it is already clear that this is absurd. There has been no analogue in world practice where aggressors who first killed women and children and wiped whole cities and villages off the face of the earth then voted for the head of the republic.

[Chaykova] If the elections do take place, if Zavgayev signs a treaty with Russia, what will your next steps be?

[Maskhadov] Zavgayev is nobody for us. For this reason the Russian side should have first complied with the military agreement, which was signed by two government delegations with the OSCE's mediation. Then conditions should have been created to hold free, democratic elections, instead of staging this show. This is a shortsighted policy by Moscow.

[Chaykova] Do you plan to resort to combat operations in order to thwart the elections?

[Maskhadov] We are sick and tired of a situation where there is "neither war nor peace." We say just one thing: Either war, or let us make peace. For this reason I do not rule out even active combat operations.

[Chaykova] How battleworthy are the Chechen armed formations? What impact has the truce had on their battleworthiness? Have the fighters managed to regain what they lost?

[Maskhadov] We do not need any rest, we are always ready to fight. After this barbaric war people have realized — and this is most important — what the Russians brought to Chechnya. Presently the number of people who would take up arms is 10 times the figure we had at the start of the war. The methods of warfare will be changed. If the command of the federal troops thinks that we will go on defensively sitting in dugouts as we did before, it is mistaken.

[Chaykova] Will there be acts of sabotage?

[Maskhadov] There will be combat operations on Russian territory. We are not terrorists or bandits. We are warriors, we defend our people.

[Chaykova] How many Chechen soldiers and civilians have been killed in this war by your estimate?

[Maskhadov] Two thousand Chechen troops have died in this war. As for civilians, including the Russian-speaking population, about 67,000 of them have been killed.

[Chaykova] And how many Russian servicemen have been killed?

[Maskhadov] After three days of the battle for Groznyy, up to 5,000 Russian privates and officers were left lying on the sidewalks. The 2,000 people killed throughout the war about whom the Russian command is talking is a lie intended to deceive the Russian people.

[Chaykova] What is the current situation in the republic? We are presently hearing artillery fire. What is it?

[Maskhadov] Warfare has not stopped since the time the military agreement was signed on 30 July. Moreover, now more women and children get killed than before. Currently Bamut, Orekhovo, Roshni-Chu, and Dargo are being shelled.

[Chaykova] In summer there was a certain hope for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Is there still a chance to continue the peace talks?

[Maskhadov] There is still a chance for us. For the Chechen side and for me personally. As for the Russian side, I do not know. I think that the Russian side has not yet made up its mind whether to continue combat operations or to cease them. First they look to elections, then military accords, then talks.

Russian generals just helplessly raise their hands. Everything is being decided in Moscow. Romanov or Shkirko, there is no difference whatsoever. They do what they are ordered to do.

[Chaykova] Romanov had earned the image of a peacemaker during the talks. But certain mass media reported that he participated in the so-called cleansing of Samashki village and the seizure of Gudermes under the name Antonov and was a fairly cruel military commander. Is this so?

[Maskhadov] For me, those who fought here, in Samashki, or in Nozhay-Yurt are soldiers fighting against my people. I am a soldier, they are soldiers, a war is under way. What happened to Romanov was not revenge for Samashki, but a planned barbaric provocation. And even if our men raised their hand against Romanov, the Russian special services could not but be involved in that. I am 100-percent sure of that.

I'd like to say that we did not and still do not bear any grudge against the Russian people. We are ready to live in peace, to be good neighbors. We are not going to seize a slice of Russian territory; we remain on our ancient soil. We simply want the Russian people to open their eyes and look at what their leaders are doing. It is the Russian people themselves who suffer most from seeing nothing.

[end of Maskhadov interview]

[Editorial postscript]

While not taking Maskhadov's word for it, we nevertheless thought it necessary to convey this stance to the reader. Without it, the picture of what is going on in Chechnya would be incomplete — and the situation taking shape on the eve of the elections, deceptive.

'Mine Warfare' Seen Threatening Voters

MM0812122995 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 95 p 3

[Report from Chechnya by Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Astashkin under the "Events and Commentaries Postscriptum" rubric: "Mines Filled With Nails"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The explosion which occurred two and a half months ago on the highway from Severnyy airport to Groznyy when a terrorist act was carried out against Oleg Lobov, the Russian Federation President's representative in Chechnya, was the starting point of a new stage in the Chechen war — mine warfare. Explosions have become increasingly frequent since that September day. According to information from the headquarters of the Integrated Group of Federal Troops in the Chechen Republic, around 30 mines of varying degrees of power have been detonated in the past two months in Chechnya, causing over 50 deaths. Recently the mines have begun to be filled with nails, screws, and bolts to increase their lethality, according to specialists.

Such are the barbaric methods being used in the mine war in Chechnya today. It should be noted that this war is being conducted in a professional way. In the most recent incident, on 4 December, the Dudayevites achieved their aim: After the explosion at the Territorial Administration building in Groznyy there was confusion in the republic. People began asking: Is it not dangerous going to vote when there is no absolute guarantee that an explosive device has not been planted at any given polling place? Especially given that there has already been an explosion at one polling place in Groznyy.

Sappers from the separate engineering mine clearance battalion under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Shcherbakov are doing everything possible to keep blasts to the minimum. That is why mine-clearance groups can be seen rushing around Groznyy every day with an armed escort.

"We have been in Chechnya over three months now," Lt. Col. Shcherbakov said. "Recently the mine war has moved from the mountain areas of Chechnya to Groznyy. The Dudayevites have been laying 'booby-trap' mines with professional expertise. Sometimes they plant them in places that you would never suspect. Some installations have to be checked out three or four times."

For example, a few days ago sappers disarmed a homemade mine discovered in a canteen used by construction workers. An explosive of enhanced yield had been placed in an ordinary metal canister. To increase its destructive power the bomb had been filled with ball bearings, screws, and nails. Disaster was averted by a faulty alarm clock which was being used as a timer mechanism and by weak batteries.

"As for the explosion outside Government House," Shcherbakov stressed, "according to our information the bomb contained around 60 kg of plastic explosive [plastit] — an explosive substance of enhanced yield. That is why the blast was so powerful...."

My conversation with the sapper was interrupted by a phone call. There was a report that a mine had been discovered near the Minutka Square bridge.

A few minutes later a mine-clearance group led by Lieutenant Aleksey Titarenko set off for Groznyy escorted by armored personnel carriers from a motorized infantry platoon. Heading for single combat with death yet again....

Stop Press. During the night of 7 December four people were detained in Groznyy on suspicion of carrying out the terrorist act on Monday [4 December] outside the Territorial Administration of the federal executive organs in the center of the Chechen capital. Your ITAR-TASS correspondent received this information from a spokesman for the Chechen MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs].

Fifth Suspect Held in Groznyy Blast

LD0712183595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1719 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — Chechen police have detained a fifth suspect in the blast in Groznyy which injured 65 people, a Chechen government spokesman told ITAR-TASS today.

A Chechen Interior Ministry senior official, Colonel Akhmed Dakayev, said at a press conference in Groznyy today that the Chechen interior and the Russian Federal Security Service are continuing the hunt for perpetrators, refusing to elaborate.

OSCE Official Condemns Terrorism

LD0712164095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1258 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Sharip Asuyev and Sergey Trofimov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — Olivier Pelen, who now heads the OSCE mission in Chechnya, categoricaly denounced the on-going terrorist activity in the republic, saying that terrorism had never been an effective method of putting forth an opinion.

Pelen, who was speaking at a press conference here today, described the situation in the rebelious republic as "grave and complicated," but noted that the election campaign in Chechnya was proceeding as "a purely political and peaceful process."

Pelen said a peaceful dialogue involving all the conflicting parties was the only way to end the Chechen crisis.

Armed hostilities broke out in Chechnya over a year ago.

Grachev on Dudayev Decision to Fight

LD0712153195 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Details of a meeting held some time ago became known today from the horse's mouth. I have in mind the conversation between Pavel Grachev and Dzhokhar Dudayev a year ago:

[Begin Grachev recording] I am making this public for the first time. We found a quiet spot in a neighboring room, just the two of us, and I told him outright: Dzhokhar, this is your last chance. Let us understand each other as military men. Let us resolve things in such a way that the Afghan experience is not repeated, not in

Chechnya. Dzhokhar, do you really think you can fight against us? Because I will smash you, in any event.

He asked me: Will you really go against us? Yes, a decision has really been made. Prepare yourself for the most real of wars. But, while it is not too late, it is necessary to acknowledge the legitimacy of all the decisions [on Chechnya] and to renounce the use of force. He then told me: I am not able to renounce it.

I asked him: Why are you unable to renounce it? And he then let slip this: I am not my own man. If I do make this decision, I will disappear, others will come and they will simply not let me go, others will come and they will comply with the decision we have already endorsed.

So I then said: It is war, then? And he said: Yes, it is war. [end recording]

Pacific Fleet Joins Search for Missing Plane

LD0812095895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0746 GMT 8 Dec 95

[By Sergey Ostanin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 8 ITAR-TASS (ITAR-TASS) — The Pacific Fleet is actively helping the Ministry for Emergency situations in the search for the missing TU-154 plane, a spokesman for the press centre of the Russian Navy told Tass today.

An IL-38 anti-submarine plane and two Mi-14 helicopters of the Pacific Fleet aviation are now flying over the area of a possible crash. A small submarine chaser is approaching the area, where contact was lost with the airliner.

According to the information of the press centre, the Alogez rescue boat, fitted with deep-water search instruments, is getting prepared to leave the port of Sovetskaya Gavan. Two ships for hydrographic studies, fitted with equipment for the study of the sea-bed are also ready to leave for the distress area.

Chernomyrdin Helps Launch Moscow Public Safety System

MM0812115795 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Yuriy Senatorov: "Moscow To Have Imported Patrol Cars With Satellite Communications"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the IZVESTIYA photographer's photograph you can see what appears to be an ordinary police vehicle of a foreign make. In fact, the jeep is unique: It is equipped with satellite communications, computers, and other gear required by the new emergency service.

Working is being completed on the establishment in Moscow of a Public Safety System Control Center [TsUSOB] drawing on Internal Affairs Ministry and Emergencies Ministry facilities and all existing emergency services. The Control Center grew out of the concept of a citywide safety system, conceived 18 months ago on analogy with the U.S. 911 emergency service.

Structurally the coordination center is split into two blocks. The first brings together all the emergency services, while the second will play the part of information backup and will involve commercial structures (if they want to pay to sleep peacefully), the Moscow city telephone and radio network, and, in the foreseeable future, the media.

The new service made its debut in the Chertanova district, when more than 1.5 million people had no telephones for two weeks. Some 112 vehicles with radio stations were sent in and they succeeded in saving 60 people by putting them in touch with the "03" service in time.

It is too early to talk about the new service as a high-speed operation, if only because at the moment it can only be contacted by cellular phone.... The TsUSOB will be more active, its creators promise, at the beginning of next year.

At the moment the Public Safety Center is equipped with three British jeeps with satellite navigational communications on board, and 10 "Zhigulis." The jeeps not only carry computers, which are supposed to enable the vehicles to get to places quickly, even avoiding traffic jams, but are able to extinguish fires and give technical assistance and first aid. They carry several Kalashnikovs, there is an aperture for a marksman and a device for stopping vehicles — spikes are fired out eight meters to the right and to the left.

The public emergency service's debut, as it were, did not go unnoticed by Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, who arrived on Abelmanovskaya Street on Wednesday in his Mercedes-600 at the invitation of Mayor Luzhkov. Internal Affairs Minister A. Kulikov was expected but did not turn up.

To those who do not have cellular phones we suggest they try the new public safety (or crime fighting) service on the following numbers: 276-77-12, 276-40-72, 276-52-47, 276-18-77, 276-422-63, 276-44-02. They just need to report anything they find shocking, from traffic lights that do not work and open wells, right down to.... [ellipsis as published]

Mordovia Seeks Federal Assistance To Survive

LD0712175295 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The general provisions of the country's new tax code were examined at a routine meeting of the Russian Government chaired by Viktor Chernomyrdin. Then Nikolay Merkushkin, head of Mordovia, made a report on the main trends in Mordovia's socioeconomic development. Our special correspondent, Regina Lukashina, reports.

[Lukashina] We cannot do without support from the federal budget, Nikolay Merkushkin said. The number of roads is half of the Russian average, as well as the level of salaries. Over 35 percent of Mordovia's regional budget is made up of subsidies from the center. Of the 403 new schools that the republic needs only five are under construction. Compared to 1994, industrial output has fallen by 37 percent and construction by 62 percent. A third of the enterprises are loss-making, and this figure rises to 70 percent in agriculture. This is linked to a complex political situation — there have been four governments over four years in the republic — and the fact that structural changes are not taking place. [passage omitted]

On the whole, a program for reviving Mordovia will cost the federal budget 9.9 trillion rubles.

Primorye Governor Denies Border Demarcation Completed

LD0712181395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1447 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VLADIVOSTOK, Russia (INTERFAX-EURASIA) — The governor of Primorye Territory in Russia's Far East on Thursday denied media reports that Russia and China have completely finished demarcating their mutual border in Primorye and that Russia has handed over some of its land to China.

The reports are "lies," Yevgeniy Nazdratenko told INTERFAX-EURASIA. "Not a single border post has been moved on the disputed sections of the border, and the border guards use their old paths for patrolling."

Demarcation is over only in undisputed areas, he said. As for the disputed ones, the sides are continuing talks to find compromise solutions.

The governor said his territorial administration had not changed its position. "We don't intend to give up any of the lands."

Term of Ingushetia Free Economic Zone To Be Extended

LD0712184695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1621 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Robert Serebrennikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian government has considered a draft decision to prolong for two years the term of the "Ingushetia" free economic zone, ITAR-TASS was told here today by Russian First Vice-Premier Anatoliy Chubays. The problem was discussed with the participation of representatives from the Russian Finance Ministry and the Ministry for Economics.

The decision to prolong the term of the "Ingushetia" free economic zone is hedged in by several limitations and supplements, Chubays noted. They stipulate tough control over the use of money earned by this zone. Most of it is to be spent to finance the building of an Ingushetian capital. It has also been decided to limit the total amount of money that will be earned by the "Ingushetia" free economic zone in 1996-1997 to 500 billion roubles a year.

The decision to prolong the term of the "Ingushetia" free economic zone will be shortly legalised by a presidential decree and an injunction of the Russian government, Chubays added.

Bashkir Republic Introduces Private Land Ownership

LD0712231595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2112 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] UFA, Dec 7 (INTERFAX-EURASIA) — Bashkirtosan President Murtaza Rakhimov signed a decree Thursday introducing private land ownership in the Russian internal republic. The decree will come into effect tomorrow after it is published in the press.

The decree envisages granting citizens ownership of land lots for personal use, gardening, housing construction and maintenance, construction of dachas and garages.

The owners of land lots will have the right to sell them, hand them down, give them away as a present, mortgage or lease them. Such transactions will be regulated by Bashkirtostan civil and land regulations.

Sellers or buyers of land cannot change the use of the sold or bought lots.

Economic Issues

New Code Introduced To Slash Number of Domestic Taxes

LD0712180495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — A code of taxation being drafted in Russia will slash the number of domestic taxes from 100 today to a bit over 30 in the future, Deputy Finance Minister Sergey Shatalov declared when he outlined the draft at a cabinet meeting today.

Once the code is adopted, tax legislation will be simpler and effective, Shatalov said, adding that the government will gradually lift taxes on the use of highways, maintenance of the housing fund, needs of educational establishments, maintenance of police, amenity work in residential areas, operations with securities, and purchase of cars.

A resolution was passed on a motion tabled by the Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who urged "to approve and adopt" the main part of the taxation code. At the same time, he asked to elaborate the draft within two weeks by taking into account the remarks aired at the session.

Central Bank Chairman Sergey Dubinin, who attended the cabinet session for the first time in his new capacity, described the draft as "a vital document, which must be adopted without delay."

After the adoption of the main part of the taxation code, the cabinet is to review three other parts regulating taxation at federal, regional, and minor levels. The draft is then to be submitted to the Federal Assembly.

Draft General Section of Tax Code Endorsed

LD0712180295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1438 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Nadezhda Anisimova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 7 (ITAR-TASS) — The draft of the general part of the Russian Federation's tax code discussed by the Cabinet meeting on Thursday was endorsed on the whole but was referred for being finalized within a fortnight, with taking into account remarks.

Sergey Shatalov, Russian Deputy Finance Minister, delivering a report on the matter, said the tax code consists of four parts, the first of which, the general part, defines the legal groundwork, the basis of the taxation process. It was discussed on Thursday.

The list of taxes in the general part includes the social tax. Taxes on profits and income tax on natural persons were included into the code at the federal and regional levels. Taxes on the property of enterprises were preserved at the regional level, and the tax on retail sales at the local level.

The tax legislation needed to be altered because of its imperfection and the lack of the uniform legislative and normative base for taxation, Shatalov said.

Zaveryukha: No Bread Price 'Jump' Expected in Early 96

MK0812104295 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 95 p 6

[Unattributed report: "There Will Be No Jump in Bread Prices"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There will be no global hike in the price of bread to 10,000 per kilogram from the beginning of 1996, stated Deputy Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha, who is in charge of agro-industrial complex questions in the Russian Federation government. In his words, bread consumption in Russia became stabilized over the past three years at the annual level of 121 kg per capita, and grain harvested this year (65 million tonnes including 20 million tonnes of wheat against 81.3 million and 32.1 million tonnes in 1994, respectively) meets the country's requirements. Speaking of possible imports of grain, the deputy premier stressed that "the Russian Federation has not been buying it on a massive scale abroad over recent years," whereas in 1992 it imported 28 million tonnes of the 56 million tonnes it consumed.

Ministry Selects 75 Priority Investment Projects

MK0812091695 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 7 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Elmar Murtazayev: "Economics Ministry Chooses 75 Investment Projects for Support. Share of State Investment To Vary 'Depending on the Importance of Production'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Economics Ministry has finished the selection of investment projects that will be entitled to financial assistance from the state. Vladimir Kosov, deputy economics minister and chairman of the investment tenders commission's working group, said at yesterday's news conference that out of 104 projects submitted to the government for consent a total of 75 projects in various sectors of the country's economy were approved.

According to Mr. Kosov, it is planned to allocate 427.7 billion rubles for this purpose from the state budget. At the same time, according to the new scheme of investment financing introduced late last year, the state's share will vary from 20 to 70 percent of a project's overall cost. The investment projects commission will define a specific percentage, as its chairman put it, "depending on the importance of the new production for the country's economy."

The list of projects features enterprises virtually in all sectors of the Russian economy, including metallurgy, engineering, chemical-and-timber and construction industries, and the agro-industrial sector. In addition, state funds will also be earmarked to implement high-technology projects and to launch industries new for Russia.

Meanwhile, the Economics Ministry has obtained yet another tool to support specific enterprises: It is expected that by the year's end the government will approve the program of state support for exporters. As was the case with investment policy priorities, the guidelines of state support will also be defined by the Economics Ministry. It is also planned to change the structure of the Economics Ministry's financial participation in investment projects so as to gradually reduce the share of state expenditure.

Forgeries Subdue Public Demand for Dollars

MM0712151995 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Sergey Tyulkov: "What Can We Expect from the Hundred Dollar Bill?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, after the statement by A. Khandruyev, deputy chairman of the Central Bank, on the appearance in Russia of forged new-style dollars, we visited 10 currency exchange bureaus. And we saw for ourselves that there was nothing unusual going on. People are still changing rubles into dollars and back as they always used to. In Kuntsevskiy Rayon an exchange bureau employee noted only a slight increase in demand for German marks (they are not going to exchange them), while at the Belorussia Station they noted a slight imbalance between the supply of and the demand for dollars — the number of dollars sold has increased. People are in no hurry to buy them — according to the man behind the exchange bureau window, people have faith in the currency band. Was that perhaps also one purpose of the A. Khandruyev statement? To frighten people a little and prompt them to sell their currency, so as to guard against the market's being flooded by U.S. dollars just before New Year...?

People in the currency booths and the banks had heard about the forged new-style dollars the same way as everyone else — from the television. They are confident that the commission charge for those who want to buy the brand-new currency fresh from the printing press will not be too high. "Otherwise they will simply take our license away from us," one exchange bureau employee admitted.

International Affairs

U.S. Prepared To Support USAID-Developed Programs

LD0712231895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2112 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Dec 7 (FIA-INTERFAX) — The U.S. administration is prepared to support all the economic programs the Ukrainian government has developed jointly with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

A source in the Ukrainian government told INTERFAX Financial Information Agency cited Richard Morningstar, special adviser to the U.S. president, as promising during his visit to Ukraine.

According to the source, the talks between Morningstar and Ukrainian officials did not cover the exact amounts of financing, but small farms and the power and coal mining industries were earmarked as priority targets of the financing.

The Ukrainian official said that special attention was given to financial support of privatization in Ukraine. Morningstar said that if the transfer of state property to private investors is delayed, the U.S. financing of this program is likely to be significantly reduced.

According to the U.S. Embassy in Kiev, the U.S. made over $1 billion available to Ukraine from January 1, 1994, to December 1995.

Moroz, Lebanese Official Discuss State of Relations

LD0712194595 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1605 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev [no date as received] — Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz has met Ilie al-Firzli, deputy speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of the Republic of Lebanon [name and title as received].

Opening the meeting, Moroz described the current state of relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Lebanon. He said it did not satisfy any of the sides. The Supreme Council chairman said "Ukrainian and Lebanese members of parliament could build a solid legal foundation under our relations."

Economic issues were also discussed. The implementation of Lebanon's rebuilding program alone requires about 1.5 million tonnes of reinforcing steel bars and 4 million tonnes of cement per year. The "Ukrayina" association and the "Siabalk" transnational company reached an agreement to export about 1 million tonnes of cement per year from Ukraine to Lebanon via a floating terminal in the city of Nikolayev.

Oleh Dyomin, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, Serhiy Mykhaylenko, the leader of the group for interparliamentary relations with the Republic of Lebanon, and Vitaliy Shipko, Ukraine's charge d'affaires ad interim in the Republic of Lebanon also attended the meeting.

Memorandum on Parliamentary Relations Signed

LD0712201495 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1850 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — On 7 December, Deputy Chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council Oleh Dyomin and Deputy Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of the Republic of Lebanon Elie al-Firzli [name as received] signed a memorandum on developing relations between the parliaments of Ukraine and Lebanon. Under the memorandum, the two parliaments will exchange information about their legislative activities, hold consultations on their activities in international parliamentary bodies and promote political, economic, legal, agricultural, social, scientific, technical, cultural, information and humanitarian relations between the two countries.

After the signing of the memorandum, Elie al-Firzli said members of parliament believe their task is to create "a positive climate in the Lebanese parliament, as regards Ukraine." Dyomin emphasized that after the memorandum had been signed, relations between the two parliaments will be maintained in a "normal working manner."

Today, the Lebanese parliamentary delegation concluded the official part of the visit. The delegation members will have private meetings with representatives of the Lebanese community in Ukraine by 11 December.

Foreign Minister 'Astonished' Over Romanian Claims

WS0812091595 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0108 GMT 8 Dec 95

[By Oleksandr Pukhov, "Special to INTELNEWS"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Dec 7 — Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko said he is "astonished" by Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu's statement openly implying a territorial claim against Ukraine.

Ukraine and Romania have territorial disputes going back to before World War II. The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, which divided much of Eastern Europe between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939, ceded vast tracts of Romanian land to the Soviets.

Since the end of the Cold War, nationalists in Romania have been calling for an abrogation of the pact, despite the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty which recognized Soviet (and subesequently Ukrainian) gains under the pact.

One such point of dispute is Zmeyiniy Island, a small speck of land in the Black Sea near the Ukrainian-Romanian border.

On Monday, Melescanu said in the Romanian Parliament that Ukrainian authorities "refused to give back (Zmeyiniy island, situated in the Black Sea)." He also said Romania may appeal to the World Court on the issue.

Udovenko, who is currently in China, said, "Ukraine strictly follows the Helsinki agreement principle of border inviolability and demands other countries that signed this document do the same."

"Non-observance of this principle can lead the Europe to catastrophe," continued Udovenko. "No matter what pressure is exerted on Ukraine, the country will not waive its territorial integrity," he said.

Udovenko noted that in 1994 the world's nuclear powers provided Ukraine with security and territorial integrity guarantees.

The foreign minister added that Ukraine intends to "continue the process of negotiations" and is interested in "having normal and good relations with its neighbors."

Kiev Warns Romania Against Court Appeal

LD0712164695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1252 GMT 7 Dec 95

["INTERFAX-UKRAINE" news item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, December 7 (INTERFAX-UKRAINE) — Romania's unilateral appeal to the International Court will be evaluated in Ukraine as laying an official claim to her territory, IF-U has been told by Yuriy Sergeyev, Chief of the Information Department of Ukraine's Foreign Ministry.

Romania disputes Ukrainian sovereignty over Zmiynyy Island in the Black Sea as well the part of the continental shelf adjoining it. On Monday, Romania's Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu said that if there was no progress at the negotiations with Ukraine on that issue, his country would appeal to the International Court.

According to Yu. Sergeyev, an appeal to the International Court "presupposes the presence of a disputable issue". Yet, he emphasized, "in this case, there is no such an issue, from Ukraine's viewpoint."

Yu. Sergeev reminded that the question of sovereignty over Zmiynyy Island was ultimately settled in 1961, when the Soviet-Romanian Friendship and Cooperation Treaty and the Treaty of the State Border between the two countries were signed. Both these treaties were ratified by the Romanian Parliament in due time.

"Proceeding from this premise, Ukraine will regard a unilateral appeal on this issue to the International Court as laying official claim to her territory," the Ukrainian diplomat said.

The postwar settlement of the issue of the Soviet-Romanian border, Sergeyev noted, has been part of the postwar set-up in Europe, that all countries, which acceded to the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, including Romania, pledged to respect.

Official Concern About Dniester Talks' Delay Viewed

AU0812102695 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 5 Dec 95 p 5

[Report by Natalya Riznyk: "Who Provoked the Break in the Negotiations?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma left for faraway China on an official visit, Volodymyr Furkalo, his representative in the negotiating process on settling the Dniester conflict, remained in Kiev.

This seems to worry him, for the scheduled round of talks had been appointed for 29 November, and it is already 5 November. For that reason, Volodymyr Furkalo issued a statement expressing Ukraine's attitude toward such a slow pace in settling a problem, which is extremely important for both Moldova and Ukraine. In Volodymyr Furkalo's opinion, the negotiating process "has become further complicated after the appeal by the Dniester Region's legislative body to the State Duma of the Russian Federation and adoption by the latter of a decree, which does not contribute to a positive solution to the problem and which creates additional difficulties on the road toward a peaceful settlement of the conflict."

The crux of the matter is that the Russian State Duma, taking into account moods prevailing among voters, adopted a decision to propose that Yeltsin hold negotiations with Tiraspol [main city of the Dniester Region enclave] and Chisinau [capital of Moldova] and recognize the Dniester Region as an independent state. Moldovan President Mircea Snegur stated that, under such conditions, Chisinau cannot take part in negotiations with Tiraspol, and Aleksandr Smirnov, chairman of the Dniester Region's parliament, spoke on 1 December at a news conference and accused Chisinau of unwillingness to resolve the conflict. It must also be added that, after the support obtained from Russia, the Dniester Region decided to hold elections and a referendum on 27 December. The question to be answered will be on the Dniester Region joining the CIS as a sovereign entity.

There is no doubt that, this week, passions will not be in short supply in Moldova. With regard to Ukraine, as the statement reads, our state continues to stand up for its view that the Dniester Region needs to be granted special status, but only within a single and territorially integral Moldova.

National Affairs

EU, G-7 Envoys Tell Kuchma of Vienna Chernobyl Memo

AU0712190795 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 5 Dec 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Ambassadors Support Our Position"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Issues concerning the present state of Ukraine's cooperation with countries that are members of the European Union and the G-7 were touched upon during the 1 December meeting between Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and ambassadors of those countries.

We attach great significance to comprehensive ties with those countries that are members of the European Union and the G-7, stressed the president. That is why meetings with ambassadors of those countries are becoming habitual, and we can efficiently solve those questions that exist today and that will arise in the course of cooperation.

In the opinion of Dmytro Tabachnyk, head of the Ukrainian Presidential Administration, at the aforementioned meeting, for the first time, a consolidated position of the European Union and G-7 countries in support of reforms in our country and its external political course was manifested graphically and absolutely unanimously.

The ambassadors told the president that a memorandum had been signed in Vienna between the Ukrainian delegation, headed by Yuriy Kostenko, minister of environmental protection and nuclear safety, and a representative of the European Union, on resolving problems of the Chernobyl nuclear power station. For the first time, all issues pertaining to this problem could be coordinated in the memorandum.

Details on Zaporizhzhya Nuclear Unit Shutdown Reported

WS0812091495 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0108 GMT 8 Dec 95

[By Oksana Hasiuk, INTELNEWS Staff Writer]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Dec 7 — The fifth block of the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant shut down at 3:07 p.m. Thursday. The latest incident at the plant came just days after the plant's first block shut down, causing the Russians to close Ukraine off from their power grid.

Officials say the incident occurred after scheduled repairs caused the water level to drop at the facility and triggered automatic safety shutdown systems. A spokesman for the State Nuclear Energy Committee said the incident was rated "zero" on the seven-point international scale.

The radiation situation in the plant and the surrounding region was unchanged, the committee reported.

Zaporizhzhye is Europe's largest nuclear plant. It has also been recently noted for being the most trouble prone of Ukraine's five. The latest incident leaves it operating at about two-thirds capacity.

Committee spokesman Mykola Oberkovych told INTELNEWS on Thursday that the block can be put into operation in 15 to 20 hours after the accident. In the meantime, officials have said that the first block will be repaired on Friday.

Oberkovych also said that before the facilities resume work, Ukrainian consumers will face a limited supply of electricity.

Defense Minister Attends Nuclear Accident Exercises

LD0712214795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1944 GMT 7 Dec 95

["INTERFAX-UKRAINE" news item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIROVOGRAD REGION, Dec 7 (INTERFAX-UKRAINE) — Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov attended tactical exercises of the 290th special purpose unit in the Kirovograd region of Ukraine Thursday.

The unit of 207 troops had been created in 1992 to tackle accidents in shipping nuclear ammunitions from Ukraine.

An INTERFAX-UKRAINE correspondent reported that the exercises focused on action in the case of an accident with a train carrying a nuclear charge of two to three megatonnes without contamination of the area.

Unit commander Colonel Igor Gensitsky said his unit had been created only for the time required to take nuclear ammunitions out of Ukraine.

Once the transfer is accomplished, the unit may be used to ensure safety of works with nuclear materials, he added. The unit will then be reassigned to the Civil Defense Headquarters.

Moroz Asks For Voter Participation in Repeat Elections

LD0712205395 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian
1905 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev, 7 Dec — On 10 December repeat elections to the Supreme Council of Ukraine will be held in 45 constituencies. Oleksandr Moroz, the head of the Supreme Council addressed the electorate on this subject:

"Dear compatriots, esteemed Ukrainian citizens. On 10 December there will be repeat elections to the Supreme Council of Ukraine. The Supreme Council should receive such people's deputies who will represent the interests of their electorate with dignity and who will take an active part in the legislative process. A strong parliament is a guarantee that society will have democracy and the supremacy of the law and that the economy and social sphere will receive a boost. Stability in society, which everybody wants, is possible only under these conditions. The work of all the branches of power — legislative, executive, and judicial — will become coordinated.

"This also depends on us, the voters. On how active you will be on 10 December and on what choice you will make. It is not normal that some constituencies, in particular in Kiev, Crimea, the city of Sevastopol, Sumy, and Kharkov region have been without deputies for a long time.

"Kiev, for example, is in a desperate need for a law on the status of the capital city. This law is needed by Kiev residents because it will concern their needs: land, accommodation, the communal sphere, material provision, and so on. Who will promote this law if you have not got the necessary number of deputies?

"Today, Ukraine makes itself more and more noticeable on the international stage. It has been accepted into the Council of Europe. Its authority among CIS countries is apparent. Our success in cooperating with other states depends considerably on perfecting the national legislation, its harmonization with international norms, which envisage a clear division between the functions of separate branches of power. The new constitution of Ukraine is to provide for more active mechanisms of balance and restraint and for viable local bodies of power. The adoption of this main law will have a positive effect on all the processes in Ukraine — on halting the economic crisis and provision of the guarantees of social justice.

"How all this is going to be reflected in the new constitution of Ukraine will essentially depend on the new deputies and the competence of the full parliament. It is important that everyone should understand that one cannot afford to be indifferent today. Despite all of today's problems and the instability we, first of all, must think about the future generations — about those, who will come after us — the children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren. The question in what condition we will leave them our land and our state is not a rhetorical question. Everyone must comprehend it, think about it, and understand it in their heart.

"The unity of aim, close cooperation on the basis of a clear division of functions and responsibilities are the conditions that will ensure the competence of power, its real influence on economic processes, and will guarantee the gradual development of Ukraine.

"[Words indistinct] heads of local electoral commissions — you must hold the elections strictly according to the law. I am convinced that the electors will assume a serious attitude to the completion of the formation process of the Supreme Council of Ukraine thus showing their political maturity, a heightened sense of responsibility for the future of our country."

353 Candidates Running for 45 Parliamentary Seats

LD0712142095 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1104 GMT 7 Dec 95

[All quotation marks as received]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Dec 7 (INTERFAX-UKRAINE) — By December 6, a total of 353 candidates have been running for 45 parliamentary seats, INTERFAX-UKRAINE has been told in an interview by Ivan Yemets, Chairman of the Central Electoral Committee.

By-elections to the Verkhovna Rada [Supreme Council] of Ukraine are due to be held in 45 constituencies on December 10. At present, the Ukrainian Parliament numbers 404 deputies, yet the total number of seats in Parliament is 450.

As has already been reported, among the candidates are Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk, Crimean Prime Minister Anatoliy Franchuk, former Justice Minister Vasiliy Onopenko, Deputy Public Prosecutor General Olga Kolinko, Crimean Finance Minister Vilord

Apananskiy, and Public Prosecutor of the autonomy Valentyn Kuptsov.

According to the Chairman of the Central Electoral Committee, some candidates may withdraw their nominations on the last day, and the number of candidates running in the elections may change.

At its meeting on Wednesday, the Central Electoral Committee has cancelled the decision of the district commission on the registration of Vladimir Bezymyanyy as candidate to run in the 377th constituency (Kharkiv region) on the grounds that he has dual Ukrainian-Russian citizenship. According to the information of the committee, Bezymyanyy is now running for the Belgorod regional Duma (Russia).

The decision on cancelling his registration has been taken in view of the violation of the laws of citizenship and elections of Ukraine, which say that there can be only single citizenship, dual citizenship is not allowed and only a citizen of Ukraine can be an elected deputy.

According to Yemets, this decision is not politically motivated. The point at issue is compliance with the laws of Ukraine and imperfection of the laws of Ukraine and Russia allowing de facto the existence of dual citizenship.

Meanwhile, the Central Electoral Committee has found no reason to cancel the registration of candidate Oleg Ishchenko (432nd constituency of Chernigov region) in view of publications in the press that he is simultaneously a citizen of Russia. However, Ukraine's Interior and Foreign Ministries have been requested to look urgently into the facts concerning his citizenship.

Ivan Yemets noted that the election campaign "has proved to be more difficult as ever before, since at hand is an attempt to draw the Central Electoral Committee into political struggle. According to him, nearly 35 per cent of the candidates have been nominated by parties. In addition, each fifth candidate is an entrepreneur, "among whom there are also persons wishing to gain immunity as deputies," Ivan Yemets said.

Moroz: 'Serious Mistakes' Made When CIS Set Up

LD0712185995 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian
1315 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [No dateline as received] — In an interview with UNIAN, Oleksandr Moroz the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, stressed that "serious mistakes had been made when the CIS was set up because the disintegration of the USSR should have been based on the specific condition that the future subjects of the Commonwealth would continue to exist." "We have dispersed in different directions, moreover one member has ended up with everything and the others with nothing," he said. Moroz cast doubts on present attempts to rectify these mistakes. At the same time he stressed that Ukraine was actually a member of the CIS and defended its interests within it, "although this defense could be on a bigger scale if Ukraine were a full rather than an associate member."

In his assessment of the clash that occurred in the Supreme Council on the issue of Ukraine's accession to the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly, Moroz said to UNIAN that "Ukraine's accession to the assembly does not pose any threat to the country's sovereignty." "It is necessary to be a political realist: If our interests lie in the East as well as the West then we must defend them through, among other bodies, interparliamentary structures, including the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly," he stressed. In an interview with UNIAN, Leonid Kuchma, the former president of Ukraine noted that the setting up of the CIS "was not a simple process" and was still continuing. He stressed that the European Union was set up over a 35-year period. Leonid Kravchuk reckoned that in the initial stage the CIS had not succeeded in resolving the problem of "a civilized divorce": The division of ownership, the gold and diamond reserves, and the Armed Forces.

He stressed that when the Byelaya Vyezha agreement [on setting up the CIS] was signed four years ago there could not have been any discussion on resolving economic issues, in particular concerning the division of ownership, because "the USSR was still in existence."

Kravchuk stressed that one more stage, initiated by Boris Yeltsin, was gaining ground within the framework of the CIS. Its aim was to transform the CIS into a strong economic and political union. In the view of the former Ukrainian president, this was an attempt "to force the process of transforming it into a union through pressure from Russia rather than allowing it to happen naturally." [passage omitted]

Crimean Party To Organize 'Shadow Government'

WS0812095395 Kiev INTELNEWS in English
0108 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Simferopol, Dec 6 — The centrist Crimean Democratic Party announced its intention to organize a shadow government on the peninsula earlier this week.

The CDP is demanding new elections to the Crimean Parliament and the establishment of contractual relations with Ukraine that will provide Crimea with complete economic independence.

Democratic party officials said they are hoping to align with other moderate groups, including the Crimean Support Union, the Crimean Agricultural Party, the Crimean Social Guarantees Party and the Inter-Regional Reform Bloc.

The CDP was founded 1993 on the basis of Crimean Social-Democratic Union and the Association of Crimean farmers, and claims 1216 members. The third CDP Congress is scheduled to be held on Dec. 16. The party is led by Oleksandr Filatov.

Tabachnyk: Constitution Must Be Adopted by Referendum

LD0712234295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2050 GMT 7 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Anna Kovalyova, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] It is absolutely necessary to ensure that Ukraine's new constitution should be adopted not by parliament, but in a referendum, the chief of the presidential staff Dmytro Tabachnyk has said.

He said at a briefing in Kiev on Wednesday that this would not only make the constitution stable for many years, but protect it from time-serving influences and political speculations.

Tabachnyk believes that if the constitution is adopted by parliament, parliamentary coalitions having a two-thirds majority in parliament, would be able to make arbitrary changes to the fundamental law, which would be a mockery of common sense and Ukraine's authority. IF Note: The mechanism of the adoption of a new constitution was discussed, as President Leonid Kuchma met with members of the Communist and Socialist factions on November 22. Kuchma said after the meeting that by mutual agreement the constitution must be adopted in keeping with the current legislation. This means that after being discussed by the Constitutional Commission the draft is to be approved by parliament and put up for a referendum, Kuchma said.

Tabachnyk also believes that the adoption of a new constitution would not necessarily lead to early parliamentary and presidential elections. He said that experts working on the draft constitution have suggested adopting what they have called "transitional provisions", setting the rules of transition from the current political system to a new one. IF Note: In his recent interview granted to INTERFAX (see Presidential Bulletin of November 20) Kuchma suggested "thinking well" before changing elective bodies of power after the adoption of a new constitution. He did not rule out that some transitional period would be necessary before the lower house of parliament was re-elected.

Tabachnyk supported the constitutional clause establishing a two-house parliament. He believes that this structure would make society more stable, because members of the lower house and the upper house would be elected at different dates.

About the left-wingers' demand for preserving the system of Soviets in Ukraine Tabachnyk warned against self-deceit. He said that such a system could work only in a one-party system. He also criticized as inarticulate statements to the effect that the draft of a new constitution reflected President Leonid Kuchma's political ideas. "The constitution is being devised not to suit Kuchma, or Moroz, or anybody else, it is expected to survive all current political clashes," Tabachnyk said.

Meanwhile, as he addressed Ukrainian diplomats in Warsaw on Wednesday, parliamentary speaker Oleksandr Moroz suggested passing a special law that would establish a procedure for the adoption of a new constitution to ease tensions produced by debates between representatives of various political forces. (Oleksandr Moroz is attending a conference of the heads of parliament of Central and East European countries. — IF). Moroz declared his intention to make this proposal in parliament shortly. He believes it should be discussed already this year.

Moroz said again he still believed it would be inexpedient to hold a referendum on a new constitution. "A constitution can be adopted by the Supreme Soviet or a congress of people's deputies of all levels," he said.

Kuchma Greets New NATO Secretary General Solana

AU0712142195 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 6 Dec 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Greetings for the New NATO Secretary General"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma sent greetings to Spaniard Javier Solana, newly appointed secretary general of the North Atlantic Alliance. The Ukrainian president expressed a hope that fruitful and mutually advantageous cooperation between Ukraine and NATO will continue to develop.

Kuchma's Envoy in Parliament Interviewed

WS0712140595 Kiev VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 2 Dec 95 p 3

[Interview with Viktor Musiyaka, presidential representative in the Ukrainian Supreme Council, by Tetyana Melnychuk; place and date not given: "Viktor Musiyaka: 'I Am Very Pleased With My Four Women'" — first two paragraphs are VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI introduction]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] "I congratulate you, and feel sorry for you," a deputy told Viktor Musiyaka. His colleague undoubtedly had reason to say this. The office of presidential representative in the Supreme Council, to which Viktor Lavrentiyovych was appointed by a Ukrainian presidential edict, puts Mr. Musiyaka in a strange situation: Having ceased to be a "fellow" for people's deputies, for many reasons he has not become such a "fellow" for members of the Presidential Administration. Of course, the experience of the professor of law should show him how to avoid the role of a "fellow among strangers, and a stranger among fellows." He has already coordinated the first step in this direction with Leonid Kuchma: Viktor Musiyaka will be subordinated only to the state leader, which is supposed to improve the presidential representative's prestige among deputies. True, it is still uncertain how "circles close to the president" will assess this... But, being an incorrigible optimist, Viktor Musiyaka hopes for the best. "I am not going to get in anyone's way," he vows. To a question concerning possible intrigues by the administration, he modestly replied as follows: "I hope I am inedible..."

Perhaps the president selected him for these reasons. Although there are many suppositions, only one fact is indisputable: The appointment actually took place. It is interesting that Leonid Kuchma presented his "proposal" to Viktor Musiyaka in Kharkov while attending the celebration marking the anniversary of the National Academy of Law, at which Viktor Lavrentiyovych taught for 25 years. Was it a coincidence?

[Melnychuk] Viktor Lavrentiyovych, do you consider your appointment a step upward along the political ladder?

[Musiyaka] Accepting this appointment, I did not think about any promotion. From one side, however, it may seem that the office of the presidential representative in the Supreme Council provides a vast opportunity to influence political processes in our country. But believe me, my only goal is to influence the relations between the parliament and the president.

There Are Ambitions and Ambitions

[Melnychuk] Nonetheless, it is usual to think that only an ambitious individual can achieve significant results in politics....

[Musiyaka] I think everybody involved in politics, be it a deputy, Presidential Administration member, or government member, is more or less ambitious. Another question concerns the results of his work. They do not always depend on the presence or lack of ambitions. This means that it is incorrect to say that I can count on success in my mission only provided that I am ambitious. I think this is clear. If I achieve success by using my current powers, and people interpret this as the implementation of my ambitious plans, I will raise no objection. The main thing for me is to carry out the tasks with which the president charged me: To establish constructive cooperation between the two power branches and successfully settle the current conflicts between them. This is particularly important now that a new constitution is being drafted.

[Melnychuk] Viktor Lavrentiyovych, you did not often take the floor in the Supreme Council. At least, you cannot be considered a "permanent" orator. When Leonid Kuchma was a people's deputy he behaved approximately in the same manner. Was this not one of the reasons why the president selected you?

[Musiyaka] You know, you journalists have focused on certain stereotypes of a politician. You notice those who are already known, and who have already managed to "show up." In general, this refers to the "first wave" of people's deputies. You see only them. Because you notice only those who "shout" louder than anybody else among the representatives of the "second wave" — deputies to the current Supreme Council — you do not always catch the true caliber of a politician. You must fathom the essence of a speech and its importance, and not listen only to "political babbling."

By the way, I delivered speeches quite often. Perhaps it may seem immodest, but I believe that I often presented timely and constructive proposals regarding this or that problem. For example, I had serious critical remarks concerning the draft bill on financial-industrial groups. I also criticized certain presidential edicts... My proposals were very often positively received by deputies. Incidentally, you noted that certain attitudes toward speeches by all deputies have already been formed in the session room. As a rule, deputies listen to one deputy, and do not listen to another one. Although certain people take the floor several times per day, nobody pays attention to them. Such orators take the floor with only one aim — to recall themselves to voters' memory. And everybody understands this! Every speech, however, should contain, first of all, something constructive.

I think that while offering me this office Leonid Danylovych [Kuchma] believed that I could do something useful in this work. Among my colleagues I have the reputation of a man with whom it is worth doing business, and with whom one can discuss controversial issues and reach an agreement without shouting and brawls. I respect my interlocutor, even if we have polar viewpoints, and this is one of the main conditions for successful work of the presidential representative in the Supreme Council.

After all, I am a professional lawyer with 25 years of experience and a professor of the National Academy of Law. I think this played its role as well. Additionally, I often criticized presidential edicts. Perhaps Leonid Danylovych had in mind the following: "Since you criticize me, then try to do this so that nobody criticizes me any more!" To be serious, one of the preconditions for our cooperation was an agreement that the president would listen to my viewpoint and heed it if it was well-grounded. As it is, if the issue of vetoing a presidential edict arises in the Supreme Council, I should have the moral right to prove the necessity of this edict to the parliament.

"I Want To Lay Down My Powers as Deputy"

[Melnychuk] Should one understand this to the effect that before issuing an edict the president will coordinate it with you?

[Musiyaka] Yes. I think that in the resolution on the permanent presidential representative in the Supreme Council it will be said that edicts should be signed by him. Moreover, it is my right and responsibility to participate in the drafting of edicts. I took this burden voluntarily. If I assume responsibility for the contents of every document, I should completely agree with them!

[Melnychuk] You are a member of the "Reforms" deputy group. The attitude of the "Reformers" toward the president is complex. How did they receive your appointment?

[Musiyaka] Our group received it equivocally. First of all, contradictions appeared when I revealed my plans to lay down my powers as deputy. As the saying goes, a tough law is still law. Since according to the Law "On Power" a deputy cannot perform work other than in the creative, scientific, or pedagogical fields, I should obey it. Until my new status in the Supreme council is defined, I cannot lay down my powers as deputy — as it is, I will then lose my right to participate in meetings and the work of commissions, factions, etc. The point is that although the president defined my rights and responsibilities in the Edict on the Presidential Representative to the Supreme Council, the Supreme Council is yet to make it possible for me to use these rights and responsibilities by amending its regulations. Until it is done officially, I will remain a deputy. [passage omitted]

Economic Issues

Vice-Premier on Share of State's Property in Economy

LD0712165195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1252 GMT 7 Dec 95

["INTERFAX-UKRAINE" news item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Qingdao (PRC), December 7 (INTERFAX-UKRAINE) — The share of state-owned property in Ukraine's economy should not be in excess of 10-15 per cent in four or five years from now, believes Ukrainian Vice-Premier in Charge of Industry Anatoliy Kinakh.

"Such a proportion is the most suitable one for our economic structure," A. Kinakh said in an interview with Ukrainian newsmen in Qingdao.

Answering a question from an INTERFAX-UKRAINE correspondent, the Vice-Premier said that he favors "very much" the drawing of foreign investments for a modernization of Ukrainian enterprises in the course of their turning into joint-stock comanies.

Speaking on denationalization of medium and big companies, A. Kinakh expressed the view that "the fact should not be a source of fear that the controlling interest may fall into the hands of foreign investors". Medium and big companies should be transformed into open, rather than closed joint-stock ones, he underscored. "These companies will work on our soil within our legal field," he explained.

A. Kinakh said that the number of companies not subject to privatization because of their specific character should be not in excess of "several dozen". Among such enterprises he named those "determining economic, defence and scientific security of the state".

Crimea Economy Continues Decline

964F0497A Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 95 p 1

[Article by I. Dyakov: "Changes Under the 'Minus' Sign Do Not Make Us Happy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have reported that the volume of industrial production in Crimea has decreased by 17.4 percent over the past nine months as compared to the corresponding period of last year. But what about over 10 months? Do they confirm the assumptions that we have managed to stop the decline in the production of products?

It is difficult to judge on the basis of figures for the moment. The adversities of winter, particularly the turning off of the electricity, could instantaneously change the favorable predictions of the experts and plunge the national economy down to an even lower point.

It would be good if we were able to maintain the earmarked favorable tendency of last month. The results of operations in October largely rectified the situation for the entire 10-month period. In any case during January-February, according to figures from the State Committee on Statistics of Crimea, the volume of production in comparable wholesale prices of the enterprises in industry as a whole decreased by 16.7 percent and not by 17.4 percent as it did for the three quarters.

The situation in individual branches of industry is characterized by the following indicators: In electric energy engineering the decline reached 13.7 percent, ferrous metallurgy—11.7 percent, the chemical industry—1.4 percent, machine building and metal processing—38.2 percent, the construction materials industry—28.9 percent, and light industry—57 percent.

Only three branches have achieved any increase in the output of products. In the petrochemical industry it was 6.9 percent, the fuel industry—15.9 percent, and ferrous metallurgy—46.6 percent.

People are especially interested in the state of affairs in the food industry. The output of products here deceased by 11.2 percent. True, workers of fishing organizations managed to achieve some success. The production of products of the fish industry in Crimea increased by 33.3 percent. And we received 3.5 percent more macaroni and 4.2 percent more tobacco-makhorka items. But meat production decreased by 64.9 percent, dairy and butter-cheese—by 32.8 percent, oil-fat—43.7 percent, and confectionery—65.1 percent.

In the summary of the State Committee on Statistics there were nothing but minus signs across from the names of the enterprises, which shows a decline in the production of products. In some places more and in some places less. Only rarely does one encounter indicators with a "plus" sign. Thus the Kerch Food Plant increased its output of products by 31.2 percent, the Simferopol tire repair plant—by 6.9 percent, and the Vtormet association—by 4.6 percent.

As they say, the buttresses of the Crimean economy are in bad shape. The Kerch Zaliv shipyards cut back their production volume by 51.9 percent, the Dzhankoy machine-building plant—by 39.9 percent, the Sevastopol Parus instrument building plant—by 64.9 percent, and the Feodosiya More production association—by 30.2 percent. This is compared to last year, which was also characterized as weak compared to the preceding year.

In brief, the changes under the "minus" sign, which show a retardation or even a halt of our descent into the abyss of economic crisis, are not very gratifying. We will have more optimism when we begin to increase industrial and also agricultural production. Particularly the production of consumer goods and foodstuffs. Without this it will be impossible to provide for a rise in the standard of living of the people.

Belarus

Lukashenka Holds Talks on Ruble Devaluation

WS0812095495 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Confidential talks on devaluating the Belarusian ruble were held on 7 December at a meeting attended by Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka. The issue is very complicated; therefore, the state leader asked all those present to put aside all emotions and to use only well-considered calculations as serious arguments. He attentively listened to both supporters and opponents, and arrived at the conclusion that the current rate of the national currency is almost realistic. No final decision was made, and the president pointed out that so far there is no need for a devaluation of the hare [colloquial name for Belarusian ruble].

Minister's Activities at OSCE, NATO Meeting Reported

WS0812104295 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belarusian Foreign Minister Uladzimir Syanko is participating in a regular session of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] Council of Ministers which began in Budapest. Yesterday the leader of the Belarusian Foreign Ministry participated in the working session of NATO's North Atlantic Cooperation Council, held at the level of foreign ministers. Ways to peacefully regulate Bosnia's crisis, the issue of a cooperation agreement within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program, as well as the problem of establishing a new security system in Europe were discussed during the meeting.

Uladzimir Syanko met member of the European Commission Van der Broek, Brussels Mayor (De Demej), and Canadian Foreign Minister Ouellet. Within the framework of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council session a number of meetings were held with the leaders of delegations from Poland, Ukraine, and other states.

British Defense Ministry Delegation Ends Visit

WS0812132095 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A delegation of the British Defense Ministry has completed its visit to Belarus. The delegation comprised representatives of the Central and East Europe Administration of the British Defense Ministry. During the three-day visit, the members of the delegation discussed with employees of the Belarusian Armed Forces Staff Administration the possible directions of cooperation between the Defense Ministries of the two countries for 1996. During a conversation with BELAPAN correspondents, members of the delegation expressed their satisfaction with the course and the results of the negotiations, during which the British side confirmed its intention to continue and develop a partnership with Belarus. The members of the delegation pointed out that the British Defense Ministry is interested in cooperation with Belarusian colleagues not only on a bilateral basis, but also within the framework of NATO's Partnership for Peace program.

Deputy Minister Cited on Reasons for CFE Delay

MM0812112895 Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Dec 95 p 6

[Interview with Andrey Sannikaw, Belarusian first deputy foreign minister, by Sergey Vaganov in Minsk; date not given: "The Treaty Is More Valuable Than Money. Especially When There Is No Money. Belarus Is Reducing Its Tank 'Assets'" — first paragraph is introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Recently Belarus resumed the destruction of combat hardware as envisaged by the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe [CFE] and confirmed its commitment to honor the terms of the treaty by May, admittedly six months late. What are the role and place in the disarmament process of what is (on its own admission) the most militarized of the former USSR republics? That is the theme of the conversation with Andrey Sannikaw, Republic of Belarus deputy foreign minister in charge of disarmament and international security questions.

Minsk — [Vaganov] Andrey Alehavich, what forced the Belarusian leadership to take this unprecedented step — the unilateral cessation of the fulfillment of one of the most important disarmament treaties? In so doing it has considerably fallen behind schedule, tarnished its reputation as a peace-loving state, and undermined faith in the reliability, predictability, and consistency of its policy....

[Sannikaw] That is the point — it was forced to do this. The treaty actually cost more than the republic had. The situation was not very pleasant, of course. But it did not suddenly materialize overnight. The point is that the republic had to assume the commitments of another state which no longer existed — the USSR. After all, Belarus did not take part in the elaboration of this treaty and was not an equal partner in this process. In reality its practical rights and obligations as an entity in international law and international relations did not fully emerge until after the disintegration of the USSR. And everything that had accumulated on its territory by that time — I mean the tanks, armored vehicles, and the rest of the combat arsenal — was a heavy and, it may be said, intolerable weight on its back....

[Vaganov] But surely when this Union arsenal was shared out among the former Soviet republics was it not possible to match Belarus' treaty obligations to its potential?

[Sannikaw] Unfortunately we either did not give that enough consideration at the time or else did not consider it properly because in the main we still harbored illusions about the republic's material potential and Western financial aid. That aid did not materialize and our potential was sufficient only for two stages of disarmament which, by the way, were carried out in full accord with the parameters and the spirit and letter of the treaty. That means around 70 percent of the total amount of hardware due to be scrapped.

[Vaganov] What is the reason for the West's attitude? Is it really not interested in the implementation of the treaty? What do Western politicians say in reply to the requests for aid? Or is it perhaps that they simply begrudge the money?

[Sannikaw] It does not matter whether they begrudge it or not. The West undoubtedly has an interest in the success of disarmament. But unfortunately we speak different languages on that problem. They use the language of an established community which knows the international ground rules and are guided by the long-standing principle that treaties must be observed. Ours, however, is the language of a state with a huge amount of problems which had not been foreseen. After all, when the USSR disintegrated who could have known that the transformation of the Belorussian Military District into an autonomous army with completely different parameters and tasks would prove to be a problem many times more expensive than the reduction of conventional arms? Or who could have known, for example, how much Belarus would have to pay for the destruction of its tanks when the USSR dumped those tanks and other hardware in Borisov, the home of one of the few former Union plants suitable for their destruction, in preparation for the fulfillment of the treaty?... We took very little account of all these factors. And the West, which was accustomed to dealing with only one partner, failed to take them into account at all.

There is another very important factor. The legislation of the United States and Germany, for example, allows their governments to take part financially in nuclear disarmament programs. And Belarus, which went through that process without a hitch, is being given such aid. But when it comes to conventional arms they say to us: "Our domestic procedures do not allow that." But was it really not possible to find other ways of providing such assistance, for example in the form of soft loans? After all, this is a question of real disarmament which serves all states' interests. Admittedly, the United States and Germany are providing some equipment free of charge. But plants have no money to pay people or pay for energy, there is no money to minimize the environmental impact of disarmament.... Incidentally, back in 1993 we proposed creating a special aid fund for countries which found themselves in such a situation not through their own "fault," as it were. We were ignored.

[Vaganov] Andrey Alehavich, how do Belarus' participation in the disarmament process, its status as a non-nuclear state which is enshrined in the Constitution and realized in practice, and its constitutionally declared striving for neutrality match up to the statements on the need to create a military alliance with Russia and the stationing of tactical nuclear weapons on its territory in the event of a threat from NATO? Is it not obvious that the delay in the fulfillment of the CFE Treaty coincided with the aggravation of relations between Russia and the West? And as soon as they became less acute the destruction of the combat hardware continued. There were claims that Belarus' conduct in this regard is wholly dependent on fluctuations in Russia's foreign policy and that it operates virtually in response to direct orders from Moscow....

[Sannikaw] As far as those claims are concerned, I do not know of any such facts. Yes, we consult with Russia. It would be surprising if it were otherwise. When it comes to our foreign policy and our attitude to the West we cannot and have no right to disregard Russia's position and vice versa. Ultimately that would simply be unprofessional. Why does Belarus take a negative view of NATO's eastward expansion plans? Precisely because Russia takes a negative view of that. But Russia has its own reasons largely dictated by its struggle for its lost spheres of influence and for full participation in world and European politics. We have our own reasons dictated primarily by a historically acquired reluctance to end up in the firing line again, so to speak. In my view such a danger still exists. To be more accurate, from time to time there is the danger of a new "Berlin Wall" being built on our Western border. If such a thing were to happen it would be the mistake of both Russia and the West for failing to reach agreement on the creation **not of a bloc-based security system but of a pan-European security system** in which Russia must be a participant, of course. Belarus is ready to provide the most active help in the creation of such a system. In that sense too its striving for neutrality could be a major and reliable help.

As for the statements about a military alliance (with the emphasis on the word "military"), just like the ominous statements about the stationing of tactical nuclear weapons in the countries of Eastern Europe, in my view these are nothing more than statements. Of course they are at variance both with our republic's constitutional norms and with the official doctrine adopted in this regard by Russia, among others, which has repeatedly stated that it has no external enemies. If that is so is it necessary to create a new military bloc? Incidentally, this applies equally to NATO. It is well known that the Belarusian people supported economic integration with Russia. But for some reason this support is often interpreted as a desire for immediate political and military- strategic unification. I do not think that the answer to the question if put this way would be affirmative.

[Vaganov] Andrey Alehavich, let us return to the treaty issue. Will it be fulfilled?

[Sannikaw] Belarus is doing everything to ensure that. Belarus' position met with understanding from all the parties to the treaty recently in Vienna where treaty-related issues are being discussed, and we were not regarded as a "malicious violator." However, we continue to hope that in addition to understanding there will also be concrete, primarily financial, aid. The treaty's "moment of truth" will come during the conference on its examination planned for May next year. The problem of adapting the treaty to the new conditions is a real one and is far more complex than what I would call the purely technical problem that has emerged for Belarus. That is why I hope for a show of solidarity from the states parties to the treaty which would make it possible to consolidate the spirit of the treaty above all.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Meets Zavgayev; Backs Yeltsin on Chechnya

LD0712232395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2258 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Compiled by Anna Kovalyova, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: 232 (976)]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [no dateline as received] Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev told INTERFAX and state-owned Russian Television in Almaty today that he supported the stand taken by his Russian counterpart, Boris Yeltsin, who "seeks to calm the situation in Chechnya through peaceful methods."

Nazarbayev gave the interview after meeting with Moscow-backed Chechen Prime Minister Doku Zavgayev, who made a brief working visit to Chechnya.

Nazarbayev said he was in favor of "preserving territorial integrity of every country recognized by the international community."

"Furthermore, self-determination of nations should not be achieved through bloodshed," he said.

"Out of the 30,000-40,000 killed in Chechnya, about 10,000-12,000 people were servicemen. The rest were civilians," Nazarbayev said. "Chechnya's economic losses are estimated at about $3 billion," he said.

Nazarbayev said Kazakhstan was ready to help Chechnya rebuild Groznyy, the Chechen capital, and restore agriculture. "Moreover, the drafting of agreements on economic cooperation between Kazakhstan and the Chechen republic will soon begin," he said.

Nazarbayev said he hoped that the Chechen people would "display wisdom" and elect Doku Zavgayev to the head of the Chechen Republic. "Zavgayev has not been involved in bloodshed either on the Russian or on the Chechen side," he said. "Kazakhstan wants to have relations with such a person," Nazarbayev said.

Nationalist Group Announces Boycott of Elections

LD0812103195 Almaty KARAVAN-BLITS in Russian 3 Dec 95 p 1

[Commentary by Viktor Verk: "Azat boycotts elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Azat [nationalist] movement will not take part in the December elections to parliament. This was announced at the movement's congress which took place at the end of November.

They justify their nonparticipation in the electoral campaign by saying that the presidential edict "On elections", which has the force of law, was personally adopted by [Kazakh President Nursultan] Nazarbayev in the absence of a parliament in the country. For this reason the movement considers that this decree is "an illegal document."

Congress participants "knowing that the results [of the election] will be falsified by the authorities beforehand", called on the people of Kazakhstan "not to take part in the elections and not to trust reports from the state media and other establishments on the results of the elections."

Tajikistan

Government, Opposition Pledge To Observe Cease-Fire

LD0712232495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2112 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ASHGABAT, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — The delegations of the Tajik government and the opposition holding talks in the Turkmen capital of Ashgabat have reiterated their intention to abide by the ceasefire and said they are prepared to cooperate in further implementation of the August 17 agreement signed in Tehran.

According to a press release issued by U.N. representatives after the Thursday afternoon plenary session of the talks, the sides "presented their proposals as to the agenda of the talks in order to have a more profound discussion at subsequent plenary and other sessions."

Ramiro Piriz-Ballon, the special envoy of the U.N. secretary general, told a news conference that the next plenary session is to be held on December 8. "Both sides are expected to present their positions on the issues of the agenda in writing. They will also discuss a formula to express support to the Tehran agreement and state their intention to abide by it," he said.

Piriz-Ballon said that the two sides had made unspecific verbal statements. "Their positions and opinions on the political process in Tajikistan are well-known," he said and asked to wait until the sides issue written statements of their positions.

The Tajik opposition delegation issued its version of a draft joint statement of the talks' participants which states the sides' "pledge to strictly abide by the agreement on provisional ceasefire and the cessation of other hostile actions on the Tajik-Afghan border and in the country." The statement also envisages that "after verifying the cessation of hostilities, the sides will begin the discussion and resolution of political and military issues under the auspices of the U.N. and with the participation of the observer states."

The statement condemns "hostilities and air raids in Tavildar and Shuroabad."

The so-called continuous round of Tajik talks began in Ashgabat on November 30.

Democratic Party Protests Exclusion From Negotiations

LD0812000595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1440 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dushanbe, 7 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — The Democratic Party of Tajikistan welcomes and supports the wish and will of the parties involved in the negotiating process in Ashgabat to sort out all their differences in the interests of all the peoples of Tajikistan. This was stated today by one of the party's leaders, Azam Afzali, at a news conference in Dushanbe. He said the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, banned by the supreme court in 1993 and re-registered in July 1995, was a major political organization with 16,000 members in the CIS, Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

The spokesman for the Democratic Party of Tajikistan said at the news conference that Tajikistan's current problems should be discussed and solved exclusively within the framework of international constitutional norms. The parties involved in the negotiating process must take upon themselves responsibility for the future of dozens of thousands of refugees, concentrate on their return to the homeland, and create necessary conditions for observing the rights and freedoms of an individual.

At the same time Afzali expressed bewilderment over the failure to include his party in the negotiating process. He said the leadership of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan had sent a message to Ramiro Piriz-Ballon, the UN secretary general's special envoy, protesting against excluding the Democratic Party of Tajikistan from the Ashgabat negotiating process. He said the leadership of the party did not understand the stance taken by the United Nations with regard to the involvement of some obscure representatives of the self-proclaimed party in the negotiations. "We ask you to give us the opportunity to sort out our Tajik internal problems by ourselves, since no one else can solve them," the message says. "Without the involvement of the genuine Democratic Party of Tajikistan, officially registered and operating on the territory of the republic, a political settlement of the inter-Tajik problem is impossible to reach."

Uzbekistan

Karimov Meets With U.S. Trade Undersecretary

LD0712233695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2301 GMT 7 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: 232 (976)]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [no dateline as received] President Islam Karimov and US Trade Undersecretary Barry Carter met in Tashkent on Wednesday [6 December] with defense industry conversion issues on the agenda.

Carter leads a US team which arrived for a four-day visit to Uzbekistan. It includes representatives of 16 companies as well as department officials dealing with conversion matters.

Karimov said he expected the Americans to get insight into the country's market potential and establish contacts with local business. He believes this will help towards the conversion of local defense plants and establishment of joint ventures for manufacturing consumer goods.

It was pointed out that there were good prospects of bilateral cooperation and grounds for such optimism. Bilateral trade is on the increase and the number of joint ventures runs at more than a hundred. Tashkent now has a legislative basis to guarantee the protection of foreign investment.

The conversion issue was first raised during a meeting between Karimov and US Defense Chief William Perry in April.

Armenia

Yerevan Calls Karabakh Talks in Bonn 'Reassuring'

LD0712233495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2050 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Compiled by Anna Kovalyova, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [no dateline as received] Armenian-Azeri talks held in the framework of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] Minsk Group ended in Bonn on Saturday. Participants in them managed to reach some progress in their efforts to resolve the Karabakh problem, said Zhirayer Liparityan, chief adviser to Armenia's president.

In an exclusive interview given to INTERFAX in Yerevan on Thursday he described the results of the talks as "reassuring".

As Liparityan said, the two sides coordinated the report and the resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh to be presented at the conference of foreign ministers from OSCE countries that opened in Budapest on Thursday.

In addition, at their talks in Bonn the two sides confirmed their mutual willingness to settle all disputes "solely by peaceful, political, means, without using force, which will prove the importance of direct consultations," he said.

Nevertheless Liparityan conceded that the two sides reached a consensus on their major disputes, such as the situation in and around the city of Lachin, "only methodologically." IF Note: Baku views the liberation of the cities of Lachin and Shusha seized by Armenian troops during military actions in Nagorno-Karabakh as a major condition for resolving the Karabakh problem.

Besides, when asked if there are positive changes in Baku's attitude to the status of Nagorno-Karabakh, Liparityan said that "only further talks will show it." He also declined to predict the possible results of debates on the Karabakh issue to be held between OSCE foreign ministers in Budapest.

The authorities in Nagorno-Karabakh ordered unilaterally the release of 10 Azeri prisoners of war who were handed over to Azeri representatives under ICRC [International Committee of the REd Cross] mediation at the disengagement line in Agdam region on Wednesday, Karabakh spokesman Aleksandr Grigoryan told INTERFAX.

He said Stepanakert was hopeful that this gesture of goodwill timed to coincide with the opening of an OSCE foreign ministers meeting in Budapest could help towards a building of trust between the warring sides and make a positive impact on the regional peace talks.

Presidential Aide Praises Negotiations

LD0712181695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1331 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] YEREVAN, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — The talks on a Karabakh settlement held in Bonn in late November and early December are inspiring, Armenian president's chief adviser Zhirayer Liparityan declared in an INTERFAX interview Wednesday.

The dynamic negotiations, mediated by the Minsk-based OSCE mission, made it possible to draft the main points of a report and a resolution on Karabakh to be submitted to the foreign ministers of OSCE countries at their meeting opening in Budapest today, Liparityan said, adding that the negotiators reiterated their readiness to settle disputes exclusively through talks and by peaceful means.

However, the sides came to terms on disputable issues like the Lachin problem, for one, only on paper, Liparityan remarked.

Lachin, an Azeri city which provides the only route of communication between Karabakh and Armenia, has been the stumbling block throughout the thorny talks on a settlement. While Azerbaijan has been demanding its early release along with the other Karabakh held lands, Nagorny Karabakh has been insisting that the Lachin issue be negotiated in a package with the problem of Karabakh status, and such talks be held only after a comprehensive settlement treaty has been signed.

Karabakh Chief Says No Withdrawal Without Security

NC0712190795 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1749 GMT 6 Dec 95

["AZG" interview with President of Mountainous Karabakh Republic Robert Kocharyan: "Robert Kocharyan: 'Karabakh Will Not Undertake Suicidal Steps'"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The inefficiency of negotiations on the settlement of the Karabakh crisis is attributed not only to the fact that Karabakh's legal status and borderlines have not yet been defined but also to the lack of security guarantees for the newly-independent republic. That is why Mountainous Karabakh had to establish its own security system consisting of military-technical, political, geographical and many other elements. As Robert Kocharyan, the President of MKR [Mountainous Karabakh Republic] stated, the basic components of the security system are first of all the highest degree of mobilization of men population and the territories occupied during military operations owing to which "Karabakh has the shortest front-line, a geography suitable from military point of view, a well-developed infrastructure along the front-line which makes possible operative movements of the troops. This is the very sense of maintaining the territories under our control in conditions of extremely limited mobilization resources of MKR". Karabakh is suggested leaving those territories before the final settlement, more precisely, from the very beginning of the settlement. "If that happens, the front-line will be extended approximately three times with the indefinite prospects of the negotiations. The peace, during which all conscripted men should be maintained in the army, can hardly be called a peace for the population of Karabakh. We will have to demobilize several age-groups, which will result in reduction of the army three or four times. As a result the front-line will be extended three times whereas the army will be reduced 3-4 times. And what will happen if the negotiations come to a deadlock and Azerbaijan starts a new offensive? Naturally, no one in MKR will commit such a suicide. There is no sense in making us do that, since the danger is too great. A full compensation and guarantees of non-renewal of military operations in future are needed in exchange for reduction of MKR's security level during peacemaking actions", Robert Kocharyan stressed.

President noted that currently the cease-fire is firmed up by nothing, except for the statements of the parties and their political responsibility for starting military activities. In this situation MKR must always be ready to face the possible offensives of Azerbaijan. "This is one of the main issues of our national doctrine. The events in Serbian Krajina and the lack of response from the international community significantly increased the likelihood of renewal of the war with Azerbaijan",- Kocharyan mentioned. In this respect serious doubts rise as to the efficiency of international peace-keeping forces' activities. Thus, some countries should be directly responsible for securing safety in MKR. Armenia, President believes, must be amongst security guarantors. "I think that Armenia should use its right to veto in case of decisions that contradict the interests of MKR, since we are not represented in OSCE and no other country can stand for our interests there",- noted Kocharyan.

Speaking about the future status of MKR, President stated that all the versions implying any subordination are inadmissible. As to the destiny of Shusha, according to Robert Kocharyan, it has been and will be an Armenian town within the borders of MKR. The problem of Lachin is more complicated. There is no problem of Lachin as a town. There is a problem of impossibility of survival of MKR being surrounded by a hostile state. Therefore, according to President, the existence of the humanitarian corridor between Armenia and MKR is of vital importance, since as a matter of fact it is the only route linking Karabakh with the outer world.

Commenting on the possible impact of the oil factor on the settlement of the crisis, President of MKR noted that, the problem of the Caspian oil can speed up both the peace and the war. "It is difficult to predict in what direction the oil will act: there are too many possibilities. We'll see. However, already today feel some specific mitigation in the attitude of international community towards Azerbaijan", told R. Kocharyan.

"In any case, despite the fact that the negotiations have come to an impasse I don't consider the present situation as hopeless. The Minsk group of OSCE is working quite purposefully and some positive shifts have already been registered", told Robert Kocharyan in conclusion.

Azerbaijan

Turkish President Arrives in Baku To Discuss Oil Matters

LD0712154795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1331 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — Turkey's President Suleyman Demirel arrived in Baku on Thursday for an official three-day visit. At the Baku airport Demirel said he is confident that his visit will give a "fresh impetus to the development of fraternal relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan." The president expressed Turkey's striving to strengthen peace and stability in the Caucasus, and said that in Baku he will discuss bilateral relations and regional problems.

For his part, Azerbaijan's President Geydar Aliyev, who welcomed Demirel upon his arrival, said he is confident that their talks will further consolidate relations between the people of Turkey and Azerbaijan.

The talks will begin Thursday evening. Participants are expected to discuss the construction of a pipeline to export oil from Azerbaijan, and the participation of Turkey's state-owned oil company in the development of the Shah Deniz field in the Caspian Sea.

According to estimates, Turkey's share in the project for developing the oil field will be about 9 percent.

Shah Deniz is a gas condensate field located 40 to 50 kilometers southeast of Baku at a depth of 60 to 550 meters. Its reserves are expected to comprise about

400 billion cubic meters of gas, 200 million tonnes of condensate and 100 million tonnes of oil.

Political, Economic Issues Discussed

LD0812005595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2031 GMT 7 Dec 95

[By Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Translated Text] Baku, 7 December (ITAR-TASS) — President Geydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan and President Suleyman Demirel of Turkey discussed a package of political and economic issues today. The head of the Turkish state arrived in Baku on Thursday [7 December] on a three-day official visit.

In a brief statement before the beginning of the talks, the leaders of Azerbaijan and Turkey spoke in favor of deepening bilateral contacts and underlined their importance in the interests of both countries and peoples. Demirel welcomed democratic reforms in Azerbaijan and the election of the new parliament and the adoption of the country's new constitution in particular. He also gave his support to the Azeri leadership's efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Karabakh problem and said Baku and Ankara's stances were identical in this respect.

Azerbaijan's First Vice Premier Abbas Abbasov said that on the initiative of the Azeri side the talks would discuss the problems of energy supplies. He said it concerned energy supplies to Nakhichevan, which is suffering from the lack of power owing to five years of continuous blockade brought about by the Armenian-Azeri conflict.

The vice premier said Azerbaijan expected that Turkey would show understanding over the construction of a major power installation and three high-voltage power lines to Georgia on the territory of the republic. Those installations are needed to supply energy to various enterprises designed to transport Azeri oil through Georgia and to make sure the railways carrying cargoes to Azerbaijan work without interruption. Turkey is equally interested in this, since it expects the Georgian oil pipeline to be directed eventually to the Turkish port of Ceyhan at the Mediterranean Sea.

On the other hand, the new power lines would make it possible to create a regional power circle embracing Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey.

Aliyev Returns From Trip to London, Paris

NC0612143395 Baku TURAN in English 1038 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/06.12.95/TURAN—Last evening President Aliyev returned from his trip to London and Paris.

Azerbaijani governmental delegation led by President Aliyev participated at London's International Conference "Investment window for Azerbaijan" and in the work of the "Paris Club".

Georgia

NATO Council Approves Draft Cooperation Program

LD0712175095 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The press center of the Georgian Embassy in the Benelux countries and the European Union has told SAKINFORM news agency that Zurab Abashidze, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Georgia to the Benelux countries and the EU, has received a letter from Sergio Silvio Balanzino, the deputy secretary general of NATO, saying that the NATO council approved a draft program document for individual cooperation between Georgia and NATO. The cooperation program, drawn up jointly by Georgia and NATO, will enable Georgia to use NATO's potential widely — for political consultations and military cooperation, as well as for training specialists, cooperation in the spheres of scientific and technical infrastructure, transport and communications systems, civil defense and others. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze Signs Decree To Strengthen Armed Forces

LD0712182295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1331 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TBILISI, Dec 7 (INTERFAX) — Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze signed a decree aimed at strengthening Georgia's armed forces.

Shevardnadze instructed his Defense Ministry to work out Georgia's military doctrine and a program for building its armed forces based on the experience of states "with a similar historic record," Interfax learned from the president's press service Thursday.

The relevant departments were instructed to form a three-month emergency stock of materials and equipment before the end of this year, and work out a program for repairing arms and military equipment and supplementing ammunition.

The decree provides for forming a scientific and technical council of the armed forces under the Defense Ministry.

Shevardnadze Model of Executive Branch Outlined

AU0712162495 Tbilisi REZONANSI in Georgian 28-29 Nov 95 p 1

[Report by Tea Rusitashvili: "How Shevardnadze Views the Model of the Executive Branch"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As stated in his policy speech, the head of the executive branch and the country's president believes that the model of executive power should be based on three fundamental institutions that have been designated according to levels:

1. The supreme consultative bodies — the National Security Council and the Economic Council;

2. The president's personal staff — the president's administration;

3. The government and corresponding bodies, regional and local bodies of state administration.

Shevardnadze believes that the first level — the supreme consultative bodies — should be composed of the following: the president himself, a state minister, the president's aides, and the heads of ministerial departments. In the view of the president, it would be good if a form of cooperation were also to be found within the consultative structure of the chairman of Parliament. As Shevardnadze points out, the National Security Council and the Economic Council should ensure the preliminary discussion of presidential acts and the most important questions of state policy. Making corresponding recommendations to the president also falls within their jurisdiction.

The president's personal staff — the second level of executive power — is composed of the president's administration: a state minister to whom the president's office and the president's aides are also responsible. This or that state service through which state policy is planned in the corresponding spheres comes under the jurisdiction of each of the aides. However, it is the president's prerogative also to control the implementation of what has been planned.

The basic function of the state minister and the presidential apparatus is to ensure that the supreme bodies of power work in an organized manner.

The last level of executive power is Shevardnadze's centralized executive apparatus — the government — and the regional and local bodies of state administration. Their main function is to ensure the implementation of decisions adopted by the president and Parliament.

President Shevardnadze believes that such a structure of the executive branch will exclude the possibility of any body of state power usurping power.

The precise model of the executive branch has not been finally specified in the Georgian Constitution. Shevardnadze's views need to be transformed into law by Parliament, which one assumes he should have no difficulty in doing given the new composition of Parliament.

Further on Executive Reforms

LD0712231395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2050 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Compiled by Anna Kovalyova, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Eduard Shevardnadze has signed a decree laying down a new structure and rules of operation of executive bodies. The government is turned into an advisory body, the Georgian presidential press-service has said.

Shevardnadze abolished the offices of the head of state and the head of the Cabinet. They will be replaced by one state office whose chief will have the rank of a government minister.

Under the decree the republic will have seventeen ministries subordinate directly to the president. Apart from government ministers the government will also include the chiefs of the security service and the state office.

Georgia will have eleven state agencies, three corporations, eight departments and two concerns.

The presidential decree establishes a department for emergencies, which would take over part of the functions of the disbanded rescue workers corps. The new structure will be subordinate directly to the Defense Ministry.

The document is to go before parliament for approval on Friday.

Eduard Shevardnadze has issued an instruction aimed at ending the grave financial position of the Gruzglavenergo energy department.

The instruction provides for additional measures to collect payments for energy from industrial enterprises and individual customers.

Gruzglavenergo says the consumers owe it more than 93 million lari ($1 lari is equivalent to 1.258 lari). Half of industrial enterprises and ninety percent of the population do not pay for electricity, which leads to the bankruptcy of the energy complex.

Latvia

Parliament Rejects Cevers-Proposed Government

LD0712135295 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1300 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Voting has ended at the Saeima [parliament] building on expressing confidence in the government formed by the candidate for the post of prime minister, Ziedonis Cevers. All 100 deputies were present in the house. Fifty were for, 45 against, and five abstained. The standing orders stipulate that in the event that votes split in half, another voting should be held. The government put together by Cevers was one vote short to get backing on the second attempt as well. Therefore, the government formed by Ziedonis Cevers was not approved.

It is expected that the present government of Maris Gailis will continue its work until a new government is formed. Indulis Emsis, Guntis Enins, Maris Gailis, Viktors Kalnberzs, Viesturs Gredzens and Edvins Grinovskis abstained in the voting.

After the voting, Alberts Kauls, head of the Unity Party, told journalists that there are irresponsible people in the Unity faction who do not care about the people. He said that now it is necessary to prepare for new elections.

On the other hand, Viktors Kalnberzs, a deputy from the Unity Party, who abstained in the voting, said that he is prepared to be expelled from the party. Kalnberzs said that now he has enemies on both sides. Kalnberzs sees Janis Jurkans, leader of the People's Harmony Party, as the most realistic candidate to now form a third prospective government.

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